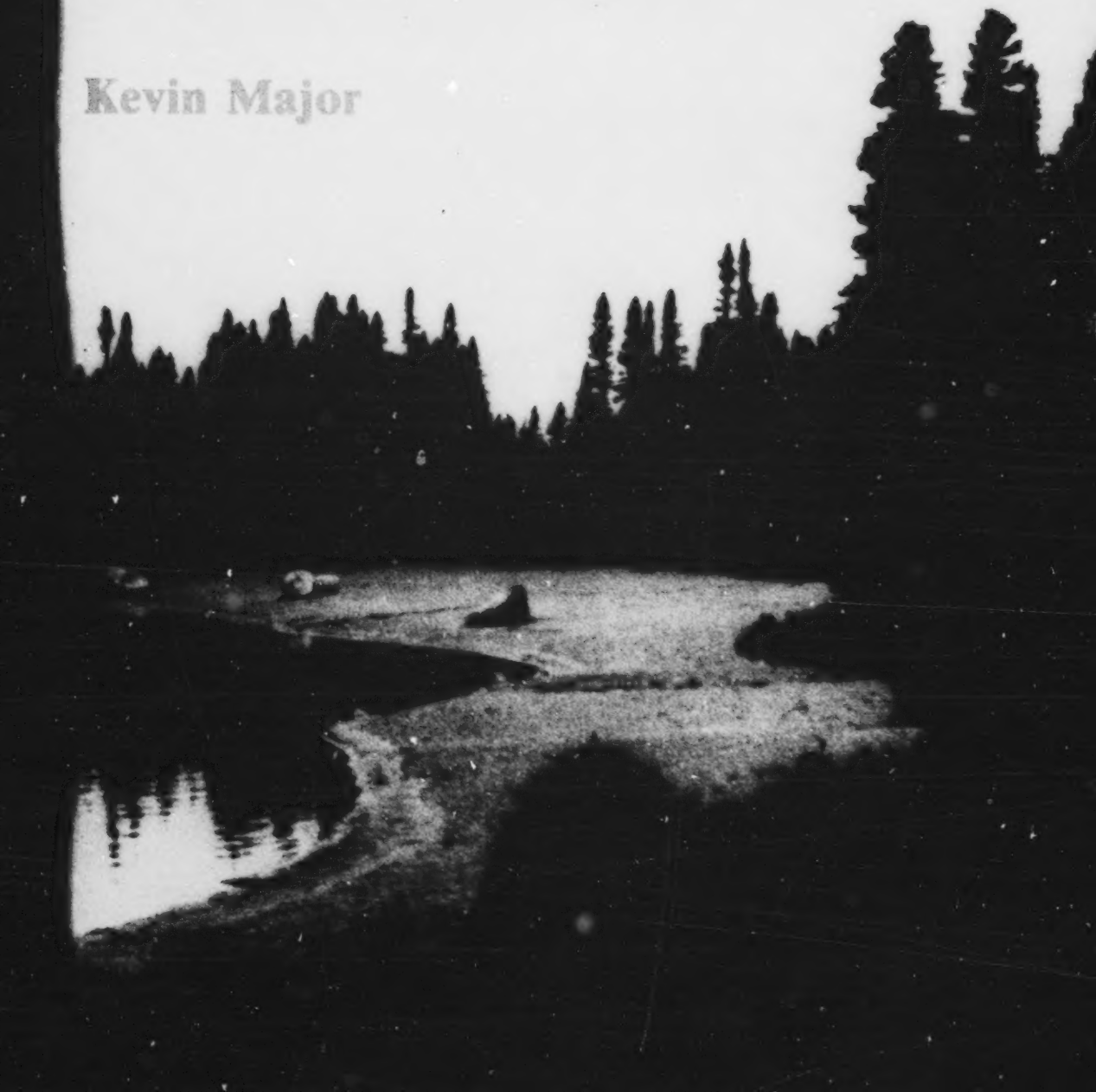
# TERRA NOVA NATIONAL PARK

## Human History Study

Kevin Major



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The purpose of this study is to provide, by reference to written, oral and pictorial sources, a composite picture of human activity in what is now Terra Nova National Park, and in its surrounding communities, from their earliest occupancy to the time of the establishment of the park in 1957. The geographic limits of the study generally extend from Alexander Bay to Goose Bay, although a truly comprehensive view sometimes required references to the history of the southern part of Bonavista Bay as a whole. Organized in a chronological sequence, the study traces the headland exploration and settlement, then follows the gradual movement into reaches of the bay, before focussing finally on settlement within the park itself.

Cover: Terra Nova National Park. (Parks Canada photo)

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Kevin Major

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**Submitted for publication in 1979, by Kevin Major, Eastport, Newfoundland.**

Figure 1. Southern Bonavista Bay.

## INTRODUCTION

For certain periods the information gathered for this study was scanty and it sometimes became necessary to speculate on the evidence or generalize based on what was known to have happened in other parts of the island. The story told is, nonetheless, interesting and, at times, very colourful. The scene perhaps of three prehistoric traditions, the area saw world-renowned explorers pass by in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It was a direct link in the vital international cod trade in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and continued as such as it settled down to develop a proud and independent lifestyle in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It is the story of a pioneer struggle to wrestle a living from the unpredictable sea, and from the land that offered wood as a second, and sometimes equally important, resource.

## THE PREHISTORY OF TERRA NOVA NATIONAL PARK

by James A. Tuck

Although we have known about the presence of aboriginal remains from Bonavista Bay for more than a century (Lloyd 1875), excavations at archaeological sites began less than a decade ago (Carignan 1975, 1977). Actual research within the park boundaries did not begin until the fall of 1979 when a preliminary survey was conducted by Memorial University under contract to the Atlantic Region, Parks Canada. In spring 1980 funds again were provided by Parks Canada for limited excavations at three sites. These were carried out under the supervision of Anna Sawicki who is now preparing a major report on Palaeo-Eskimo occupations in Bonavista Bay.

Although it is clearly premature, and much more field research remains to be carried out before we can even approach a definitive archaeological statement of Terra Nova National Park and Bonavista Bay, a few preliminary statements concerning aboriginal occupations can be made.

The prehistory of the Terra Nova region is characterized by the presence of two major "cultural traditions." Archaeologists use this term to refer to the total way of life of a prehistoric people - technology, economy, settlement type, art, religion, and so forth. Such traditions are bounded in space and have some persistence through time, often several thousand years.

In Terra Nova National Park proper, evidence of Maritime Archaic and Palaeo-Eskimo traditions is abundant while contiguous regions of Bonavista Bay have produced, in addition, evidence of recent Indian people who may have descended from one of these major cultural troups. These two traditions are described briefly.

### The Maritime Archaic Tradition

The first groups known to have inhabited Terra Nova National Park were people we would recognize as "Indians" (as distinct from Arctic Mongoloids related to Eskimos or the modern Inuit) who reached Newfoundland by way of Labrador and the Strait of Belle Isle. We do not know what they called themselves so we have applied the term Maritime Archaic to them and their way of life. The phrase is derived from a term for an old pre-agricultural way of life found throughout North America referred to by archaeologists as the "Archaic stage" and is combined with the adjective "Maritime" referring to the obvious and important association of these people with the sea.

Several Maritime Archaic sites are known within the park boundaries and although they remain largely unexplored, enough material has been recovered to date them 3000-1500 B.C. Moreover, the artifacts found are closely comparable with those from other, better known, sites so that we may use this information to describe the first inhabitants of Terra Nova Park.

One such site is at The Beaches located a few kilometers north of the park boundary. Excavations conducted there in 1972 by Paul Carignan (1975) revealed a wealth of Maritime Archaic artifacts made from chipped and, more rarely, polished stone. This site, in turn, can be compared with sites where conditions for the preservation of bone and other organic materials were more favourable allowing us to study complete artifacts left by Maritime Archaic people permitting a much fuller reconstruction of their way of life. From the evidence at The Beaches in Terra Nova National Park, and elsewhere in Bonavista Bay, and from more distant but related sites, we are now able to offer a reasonable description of the way of life of these people between about 5000 and 1500 B.C.

As mentioned earlier the resources of the sea were important to Maritime Archaic people and most of their time was probably spent at coastal settlements. Surely they were at the shore during late winter and early spring when the drifting pack ice brought harp seals and their young close enough to be killed by hunters walking over the ice. Following this, migratory birds began to appear and we can be sure these people took advantage of this source of protein and possibly down for clothing. Some birds nested in the area as well and these were probably exploited during the summer at the same time that capelin and salmon were available. The fall months saw the return migration of birds from their summer nesting grounds as well as ripening of several species of berries which in some years at least probably provided a significant addition to the food supply. We are uncertain

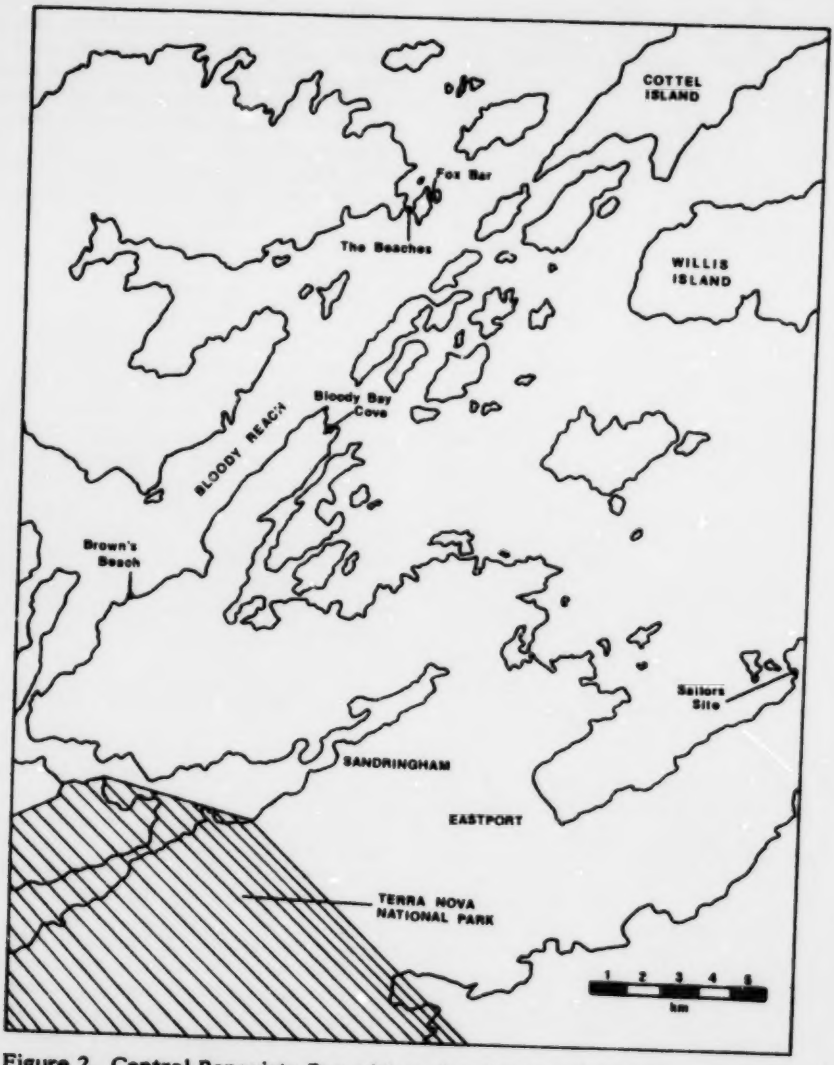


Figure 2. Central Bonavista Bay with archaeological sites investigated by Paul Carignan. (Drawing based on Paul Carignan, *Beothuck Archaeology in Bonavista Bay*, Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1975, p. 33, Fig. 2).

where the late fall and early winter months were spent. No sites in Newfoundland have been found yielding information about specific seasons of occupation. We do know, however, that both beaver and caribou were used as sources of food, skins and raw materials for tools and weapons. Possibly several months were spent in the interior by whole families to hunt these animals, or small hunting parties made short forays away from the coast, perhaps lasting no more than a day or two, to obtain caribou and beaver.

The technology of the Maritime Archaic people was well suited to their coastal existence. Since no organic artifacts were preserved at any of the Bonavista Bay sites,

we have no direct evidence of technology other than a few classes of more durable stone tools. However, at the Port au Choix site on the west coast of Newfoundland conditions for organic preservation were more favourable and a more complete range of tools, weapons, and other artifacts was recovered (Tuck 1976b). Barbed and toggling harpoons were used to take seals and other sea mammals which were then dispatched by lances tipped with finely polished slate points, some of which have been found at various sites in Bonavista Bay. Caribou were hunted with spears tipped with chipped stone although the polished slate spears may also have been used for this purpose. Long, slender "leister" or fish spear points have also been recovered as have small saw-tooth bone points which we believe served as bird darts. No evidence of hook and line fishing, either in the form of fishhooks or line weights, has yet been found in Newfoundland.

Butchering was probably done with chipped stone knives and skins were cleaned using both bone and stone scrapers. In the latter category, several large and unique specimens made from polished slate have been found within the boundaries of Terra Nova National Park. Sewing was accomplished using bird bone needles, some with incredibly fine eyes, which must have allowed close stitching of jackets, leggings, boots, mitts and probably some sort of headwear as well.

Although none has been preserved we can be sure that wood was an important raw material for a variety of products. Boats, handles for weapons, dwelling frames, bowls and a variety of other objects both utilitarian and decorative or religious were probably manufactured. A number of stone woodworking tools - adzes, axes and gouges - have been recovered in Bonavista Bay and other sites have produced knives and chisels made from beaver incisors. Judging from the ability of Maritime Archaic people to work bone, ivory and antler, the products of abundant and much more easily worked hard- and softwoods must have been both numerous and beautiful.

Just as the technology of these people was well suited to their life on the coast so their beliefs as expressed in decorative and religious objects were well adapted to the Newfoundland environment. Although none was preserved at Bonavista Bay sites we can be sure that the Maritime Archaic people decorated themselves with the same bird bills, animal claws and teeth, carved birds and other animals as did the people who left their dead at Port au Choix. Many of these artifacts, and other objects such as crystals, pebbles and unusually shaped stones, probably served as more than mere ornaments. Many northern peoples who lived by hunting, fishing and collecting developed beliefs about their prey to ensure themselves an adequate supply of meat, skins and other raw materials. If such were also the case among these early inhabitants of Bonavista Bay, we might imagine that possessing and wearing the claws or teeth of a seal, for instance, would somehow increase the wearer's proficiency as a seal hunter. Evidence indicates that the Maritime Archaic people were as well adjusted to the province spiritually as they were economically or technologically.

This apparently stable adjustment with the natural and social environment received a dramatic jolt shortly after 2000 B.C. when the first of a new wave of people set foot in what is now northern Labrador. These newcomers were physically, culturally, linguistically and historically different from their Maritime Archaic predecessors. They are the people whom archaeologists refer to as "Palaeo-Eskimos" and to their culture as the "Arctic small tool tradition."

### The Palaeo-Eskimo Tradition

Evidence from northern Labrador suggests that the first of these people arrived from the north as part of a general population expansion and discovered the area was at least sparsely populated by a people as foreign to them as they were to the established residents. The newcomers brought with them kits of tools and weapons characterized by their small size (hence the name "Arctic small tool tradition") and careful manufacture, usually from colourful and fine-grained cherts. Their southward spread continued during the second millennium B.C. and although we will never know when word of their presence first reached Bonavista Bay, evidence from The Beaches site suggests that at least a small band visited the area as early as 1000 B.C. Only a half dozen of their finely shaped artifacts have been recovered to date which leads us to believe that this first attempt at colonization, if that is what it was, was not successful.

Evidence of another Palaeo-Eskimo occupation (500-200 B.C.) has been found. At least two sites within Terra Nova National Park have produced small triangular harpoon end-

blades, knives, scrapers and other artifacts. Although these tools and weapons are typical of the Palaeo-Eskimo culture, their uniqueness lies in their minute size. In contemporaneous sites uncovered in Newfoundland, these same artifacts are generally much larger.

A few hundred years later, between about A.D. 1 and A.D. 5-600, the major Palaeo-Eskimo occupation of Bonavista Bay took place. Archaeologists refer to this culture as Dorset Eskimo, and the Bonavista Bay sites are representative of dozens of others along almost every stretch of coastline of Newfoundland. Sites of this phase of Palaeo-Eskimo culture are so numerous, in fact, that the Dorset occupation seems to have been a very successful one during the 500 or so years during which it flourished.

From studies of Dorset culture in Newfoundland (Harp 1964; Linnamae 1975), their orientation to marine resources was apparently as strong as (if not stronger than) that of their Maritime Archaic predecessors. The Dorset people of Bonavista Bay are no exception to this for all of their remains have been found along the coast, usually in places from which seals could have been killed in late winter and early spring.

One such location in The Beaches site, by virtue of the number of artifacts found there, seems to have served as a "base camp" which may have been occupied during most, or even all, of the year. Such sites may exist closer to Terra Nova National Park but thus far none has been excavated. From a central location such as The Beaches most of the food resources could have been exploited within a few days travel. Some of the smaller campsites within the park might represent small special purpose camps from which fish, birds or other resources were harvested.

Evidence in the form of site locations and refuse bone from a few sites on the island suggests that Dorset people in Bonavista Bay utilized essentially the same food resources as did the earlier Maritime Archaic people. Harp seals, other seals and sea mammals, birds, fish, caribou and beaver were the chief food supplies and provided bone, antler and ivory raw materials for tools and weapons.

Although the technology of the Dorset people was designed to perform essentially the same set of tasks as that of the Maritime Archaic people, the tools and weapons are of very different forms and styles. The toggling harpoons of the Dorset people, for instance, while operating on the same principle as those of the Archaic Indians, were fitted with a sharp, chipped stone endblade to facilitate penetration and often with tiny inset stone side blades to cause more damage to their prey. Butchering was done with finely chipped stone knives, triangular in form, often asymmetrical, and equipped with notches near the base for hafting. Skins were prepared with the aid of small triangular scrapers made from various cherts or quartz crystal. Sewing was done with fine bone needles not unlike those used by the Maritime Archaic people.

Two elements of Palaeo-Eskimo technology not commonly found among other groups were the manufacture of small prismatic blades for various cutting tasks and chipped and ground graving tools for cutting bone, antler, ivory and wood. Both attest to well-developed bone- and woodworking industries although none of these products has been found in Bonavista Bay.

Among the organic artifacts found elsewhere in Newfoundland and Labrador are several that reveal at least a glimpse of their intellectual culture. Highly stylized carvings of seals, bears and occasionally other mammals and birds suggest a system of beliefs basically similar to that of the Maritime Archaic people. Hunting magic and the acquisition of desirable personal qualities were surely at least partly responsible for the creation of these images. Less common, but even more revealing, are a few wooden masks from Dorset sites in Labrador and elsewhere in the Arctic. Archaeologists believe that these formed part of the paraphernalia of a "shaman" or "medicine man" who supposedly communicated with the spirit world to cure disease, influence hunting success, and otherwise control those variables of human existence over which we have no control.

Despite the efforts of such shamans, and an apparently successful adaptation for more than half a millennium, the Dorset people seem to have disappeared from Bonavista Bay and elsewhere in Newfoundland not long after A.D. 500. The reasons for this disappearance have eluded archaeologists for more than 50 years and although disease, climate, a disaster in the food chain, and other factors may have contributed to their demise, we are still unable to offer a satisfactory explanation.

Archaeologists used to believe that the relationships between the Dorset and Maritime Archaic people could be explained best by a replacement hypothesis. That is, the Maritime Archaic people were believed to have been

replaced by Dorset Eskimos who were, in turn, replaced by another Indian population, possibly related to the historic Beothucks. Research at Cape Freels in Bonavista Bay (Carignan 1977) and elsewhere in Newfoundland and southern Labrador, however, suggests that this may not be the case. At Cape Freels, for example, a number of radiocarbon dates from hearths left by Indian peoples fall between the years A.D. 1 and A.D. 500 - precisely the time of the largest Dorset Eskimo occupation of Newfoundland. We now believe that there were both Indian and Palaeo-Eskimo people present at the same time in Bonavista Bay and elsewhere in Newfoundland for more than 500 years. We cannot be certain just who these Indian people were but certain similarities in artifact types and styles suggest that they may have been descendants of the Maritime Archaic people. It is also possible that these people were the ancestors of at least some of the people who called themselves "Beothucks" and who met the first Europeans to visit Newfoundland. While much of this is speculation, there is good evidence for the occupancy of Bonavista Bay by both Indians and Palaeo-Eskimos. Not only the radiocarbon dates mentioned earlier but the close resemblance of harpoon heads used by the historic Beothucks to those used by Dorset people seem to confirm contact between the two cultures. It is even possible, although it presently cannot be demonstrated, that the well-known Beothuck bone pendants had as their inspiration the stylized images made by Dorset Eskimos. Other materials and ideas may also have been exchanged between the two peoples but we have no way of knowing about these. In fact, we cannot even speculate about the nature of the contacts between the Indian and Dorset people. Were they hostile or friendly? We simply don't know.

Regardless of the nature and frequency of their contacts it seems that while the Dorset people became extinct their Indian contemporaries outlived them and may have persisted into the historic period. Only traces of prehistoric recent Indian cultures have been found within Terra Nova Park and no historic Beothuck remains are known. However, at The Beaches site the remains of four house pits which contained iron tools and other items of European manufacture were investigated by Helen Devereux (1969). The presence of a few stone tools as well suggests that they were inhabited by Indian people, very probably Beothucks, during the early historic period. There may be similar evidence awaiting discovery elsewhere in Bonavista Bay, including the many coves, beaches and headlands of Terra Nova Park.

This outline summarizes our limited knowledge of the prehistoric inhabitants of what is now Terra Nova National Park. There are far more questions about the prehistory of the region than there are answers, and most of the answers are incomplete and unsatisfactory. Only further research will solve the problems of prehistory. If you should discover any artifacts from prehistoric peoples, traces of their dwellings or campsites, or any other evidence of past human activity, please report them to park authorities, the Newfoundland Museum, or the Archaeology Unit at Memorial University. Your discovery, no matter how humble it might seem, may lead archaeologists to new information which will solve some of the riddles these few pages have posed.

## THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Cabot and several other early explorers came in contact with a bay inhabited only by scattered bands of Beothucks. The fishermen of four nations who followed a short time later came for one reason - to exploit the abundant cod resources of the island. Contact between the natives and the newcomers is not well documented, but considering the fierceness of the competition between the four nations themselves, it is more than probable that it led to conflict.

### Explorers

The uncovering of a Norse settlement at L'Anse aux Meadows on Newfoundland's Great Northern Peninsula has confirmed the Viking landing in Newfoundland in the eleventh century. It had, however, little effect on the course of the island's history. It wasn't until the European rediscovery of the island 500 years later that its history veered in a new direction. This feat is generally accredited to John Cabot in 1497, although claims have been made leaving the matter still in dispute.

Arguments also continued among historians concerning the site of Cabot's landfall. Considerable evidence points to Cape Bonavista (Fig. 1). If such is the case, perhaps the voyages of Cabot and his immediate successors took him into Bonavista Bay as well. A Maggiolo chart, dated 1516, is reason to believe that exploration of the bay may indeed have taken place. The chart is made up from a Portuguese prototype, yet because there was much trade between Bristol and Lisbon at the time, the suggestion has been made that the map is based on information gained from Cabot's voyage.[1]

On the Maggiolo chart, near the present-day Chandler Reach and Newman Sound, are three names: Abaya de Cruz, Baya de S. Zacaria and Rio Jordon. All three are connected with the 24th of June - the feast of John the Baptist and the date on which Cabot is said to have landed. Cabot reportedly erected a cross shortly after his landfall. It seems possible, therefore, that if Cabot did not actually come ashore in or near the present park area (one writer has suggested that the abundant wood and water was a particular attraction[2]), then he may have explored its reaches.

The Portuguese claim that explorers from that country made voyages to Newfoundland well before those of Cabot. The first documented proof of Portuguese exploration comes, however, from the voyages of Gaspar Corte-Real in 1500. It is speculated that in that year he sailed from Lisbon or Terceira to the northeast coast of the island, near the Strait of Belle Isle, but because he was unable to land there he ventured southward, exploring as he went and landing perhaps at Bonavista, from where he returned across the Atlantic.[3] Corte-Real, then, is a second famous explorer whose voyages can be linked with Bonavista Bay.

Jacques Cartier is a third. In 1534, after landing at Cape Bonavista, he recorded:

> Upon the 21 of May the winde being in the West, we hoisted saile, and sailed toward North by East from the cape of Buona Vista until we came to the Island of Birds.... [Funk Island][4]

Whatever the exact courses of the early explorers, we do know that they relayed the information they gained back to their native lands, and by the early part of the sixteenth century four nations - Spain, Portugal, France and England - were sending ships back regularly to the coast of this "new found land" to reap the benefits of the rich cod fishing grounds.

### Four Nations Compete

A prominent Newfoundland historian has termed the time between the European rediscovery of the island and its first settlement in 1610 "the period of anarchy."[5] Four nations, at times fighting wars between themselves on the Continent, came to a primitive and lawless coastline in seach of cod. No one nation could claim sole ownership of the newly discovered land and as a result they each ventured where they wanted, often in fierce competition for the better harbours and better stretches of shoreline where the fish could be dried. The system of justice that did gradually evolve was a rough one. We know it today as the "Fishing Admiral System." Under this agreement, the captain of the first ship to enter the harbour received the rights to the fishing room (section of shoreline) of his choosing, plus the authority to settle any disputes which might

arise between ships that subsequently arrived in the harbour. He was given the title of Admiral. The captains of the second and third ships to arrive for fishing received the titles Vice Admiral and Rear Admiral, respectively, and acted with the Admiral in settling disputes.

Although the English were one of the first peoples to take advantage of Newfoundland's cod resources, during most of the sixteenth century they remained well behind the other three nations in terms of the number of ships being sent across the Atlantic each year. By 1509, it is said, both France and Portugal were each sending more than 100 ships annually. Spain was a little slower in getting organized but by 1553 she had 200 ships and six thousand men at Newfoundland. In comparison, the English enterprise was small - only thirty ships, even in the early 1570s.[6]

By the end of that same decade, however, rapid growth of the English fleet had begun, due mainly to an increasing demand for dried cod to supply her expeditions to tropical lands and her military excursions to Ireland. A rise in conflicts in Europe involving Spain, Portugal and France disrupted the fleets of those nations and eventually projected England into the forefront of the Newfoundland fishery. By 1595, 100 English ships a year were coming to the island, while the fishery of Spain and Portugal had declined almost to nothing. France remained as England's only serious rival. As the seventeenth century began, the time was right for England's first attempt at colonization of the island.

The island that the western Europeans came to was, of course, inhabited by the Beothucks. Record of contact is sparse, although what little is available points to conflict between the two groups from the very beginning. Several instances of natives being captured by the Portuguese and brought back to Europe for exhibition are recorded.[7] The Beothucks must have indeed been bewildered and angered by the sudden appearance of men who invaded their hunting and fishing grounds, took over their settlement sites, and ravaged the forest and marine resources.

The Beothucks had settled in Bonavista Bay and had, for example, a coastal habitation site at Salvage near the end of the century, as previously noted.[8] If indeed the name itself is derived from the Spanish "salvaje" or savage, then it seems reasonable to suggest contact between the Spanish fishermen and the Beothuck natives at the Bonavista Bay site in the mid-1500s, at the height of the Spanish fishery on the island. It is difficult to determine the nature of this contact. It may have been friendly, as it was in a few locations on the island; perhaps even trade in furs took place. In the sixteenth century there were probably few European fishermen at work this far north (most of the fishing enterprise was being carried on around the Avalon Peninsula), and so co-habitation of the area may have taken place.

## Cartographic Survey - Part I

Maps or charts in the sixteenth century were not considered essential items for the undertaking of a voyage to Newfoundland. Many hundreds of trips must have been made with just handwritten sailing directions describing the course to be steered and the distances between landmarks. Even when the famous Basque sailor, Martin de Hoyarsabal, published his list of sailing directions for Newfoundland's coastline in 1579, he did not include any maps.[9]

Nevertheless, the maps published after Cabot's voyage in 1497 soon began to include a representation of Newfoundland. The earliest maps show Newfoundland as an island, not because it had been circumnavigated but because the eastern part of its coastline was the only land known in the northeastern Atlantic. Within a short time though, its representation on maps changed and it became depicted as a group of islands rather than a single one (even after the time of Cartier's circumnavigation of the island in 1535-36). This was understandable in view of the fact that most of the fishing at that time was conducted near the headlands, the inner reaches of the bays rarely being explored.

Figures 3 and 4 clearly illustrate this multi-island concept. Eventually though the depiction of Newfoundland as a uni-insular land mass became standard, this development starting with the works of the Portuguese mapmaker Bartholomew Lasso. The map by Bertius (Fig. 5) is representative of this advance. An outline of what is known today as Bonavista Bay is clear.

According to G.R.F. Prowse, the earliest name given to the bay was "Rio de Rosa," on a 1503 map by Salvat de Pilestrina, a Portuguese cartographer. Prowse believes the map to

Figure 3. "Terre-Neuve," Gastaldi-Ramusio, ca. 1550. (Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's)

have been based on an English survey done in the area in 1498. Perhaps it is a translation of "Bay of Flowers," a name that became the common English term for the area. Maggiolo's 1576 chart gave a completely different list of names.[10]

This variety of names is understandable when one considers that people of four different nationalities were using the island. The situation was often further complicated by the misrepresentation on maps of one area for another. Thus, for example, on Pilestrina's 1503 map the name "Ilha de frey luis" (island of my brother Lewis) appears above "Rio de Rosa" and over the years, passing through the hands of many surveyors and cartographers, the place-name (corrupted to "I. de Frelins," as in Fig. 5; "Fra Laye"; "I. de Frilins") sometimes became associated with all of Bonavista Bay ("Frelay Bay").

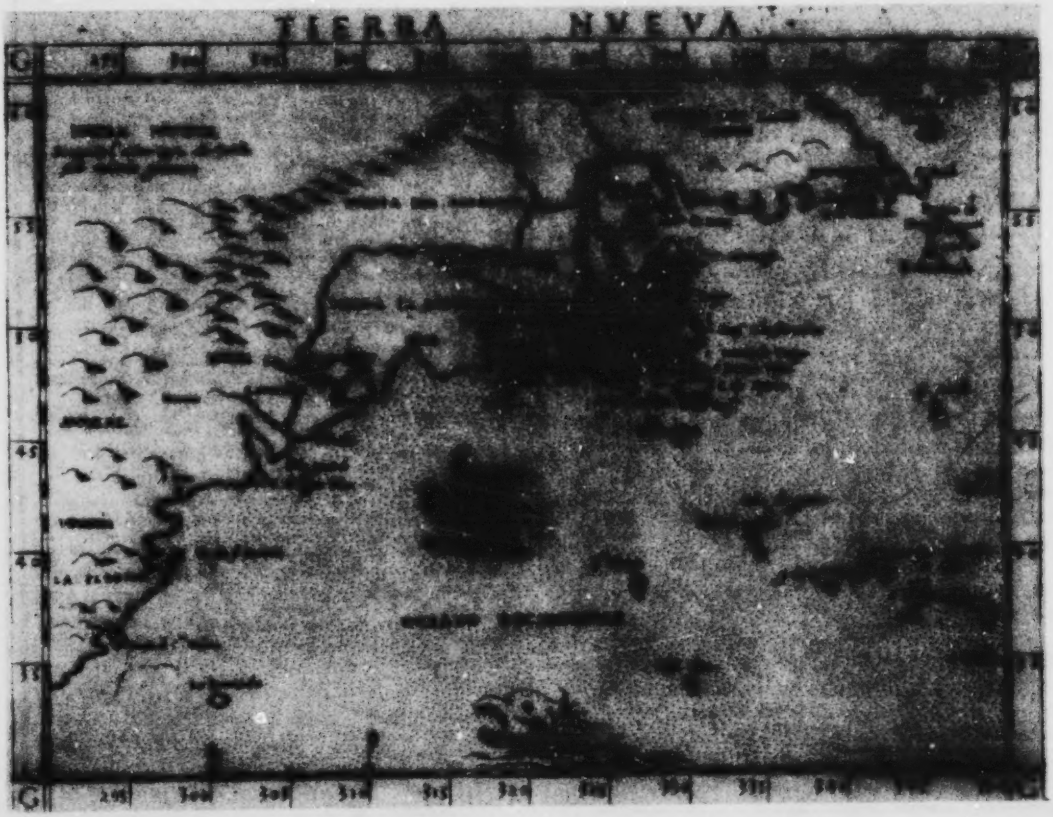


Figure 4. "Tierra Nueva," Gastaldi, 1548 (1599 version).
(Arts and Culture Centre Library, St. John's)

Figure 5. "Terra Nova," Petrus Bertius, 1606. (Arts and Culture Centre Library, St. John's)

## THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

During the latter part of the sixteenth century and almost all of the seventeenth century it was the English migratory fishery that dominated events in Newfoundland. Controlled by merchants from the southwestern English counties of Dorset, Somerset and Devon, and operated by their fishermen, this migratory fishery in the 1600s consisted of perhaps 300 ships annually.[1] The fishery was concentrated almost entirely on the Avalon Peninsula, with Salvage, Barrow Harbour, and the Gooseberry Islands being the only sites beyond Bonavista that experienced any annual migration of fishermen. With the exception of Bonavista itself, these communities are the oldest in the bay, but even these did not become permanently settled until much later. An understanding of this migratory fishery is essential background to an understanding of the settlement pattern.

### The Migratory Fishery

In the seventeenth century Newfoundland's importance was far beyond what it is today. The island was considered by English statesmen to be much more important than New

England, for example, and when war between France and England erupted in 1689 a claim that the French were moving in on the English fishing territory in Newfoundland was placed second on the English list of reasons for the conflict.[2] Besides the obvious reasons for the importance of the island - the fact that the cod fishery provided a food staple for western European countries and employment for many thousands of men - there was also the consideration that it served as a training ground for landsmen, turning them into experienced seamen able to man the fighting navies that came to play such a vital role in the course of England's history.

Preparation for the voyages to Newfoundland began in January and February, at which time the owners of the fishing ships sent their agents around to the West Country towns recruiting men for the summer. Those who signed up were given a small sum of money before they made the trip to the port towns such as Plymouth, Dartmouth and Bideford where the ships were being readied for the Atlantic voyage. Most of the ships were between 40 and 100 tons (although some were as small as 15 tons) and normally each carried one man per ton of the ship's weight. When they set out they first sailed north to catch the prevailing easterly winds which would blow them across the Atlantic.

One can imagine the rough, unsanitary conditions which must have prevailed aboard ship. Often the provisions of the trip - the salt, the food, the gear - were stored below while the crew were forced to spend the entire voyage on deck, taking turns using the sleeping accommodations. Once near the cold Newfoundland coast, further tensions were added as competition increased to be the first ship in a certain harbour and thus command possession of the best fishing room. By the second half of the seventeenth century the competition was such that long boats were launched from each ship while only just within sight of land. Each boat would sail and row, often through ice, until it reached shore and made its claim on behalf of the ship from which it had been launched. Probably the competition in the remote harbours of Bonavista Bay did not have the intensity experienced in St. John's, Petty Harbour or Torbay.

The ship in which the voyage across the Atlantic was made was not used for the fishing operation during the summer. The actual fishing was done from small boats built in Newfoundland and left there year-round. Once in the harbour the ocean-going ship was either winched ashore or anchored offshore and unrigged for the summer. With the provisions unloaded, the crews then began the job of cutting timber for the construction of the structures needed over the fishing season - stages, quarters for the men, and flakes for the drying of the cod. Although timber might have been scarce in some harbours, the fishermen who came to Bonavista Bay certainly did not have that problem. By June everything was in readiness as the inshore movement of capelin brought with it vast quantities of cod.

The best description of this early fishing operation is to be found in *The Journal of James Yonge (1647-1721).*[3] Yonge was a Plymouth surgeon who made the voyage to the cod fisheries of Newfoundland in the 1660s to provide medical services for the crew of the fishing ship on which he travelled. The details he recorded were of fishing from the community of Renews on the Avalon Peninsula, but certainly the English fishing techniques varied little from harbour to harbour.

Figure 6 (from a map by Moll, 1712) illustrates the various steps from the catching of the fish to the production of the finished dried product. The smaller boats (each three or four tons) were manned by a crew of five, three of whom caught the fish, the other two being responsible for saving it and pronging it up to the stagehead. From the stagehead a boy then directed it to a table where headers and splitters were at work. The header sliced the belly, removed the liver, and twisted off the head and guts which fell through an opening directly into the sea to be eventually washed away with the tide. The liver was directed into a "train vat," a large chest where the cod livers rendered in the sun, allowing the oil to be tapped off. On the oposite side of the table the splitter, using a sharp knife, split open the fish and removed the soundbone (part of the backbone). It too was discarded into the sea. A skilled team could head and split 480 cod in half an hour. Once split, the fish was carried away to be salted, a precise process, because too little or too much salt could make the fish unsaleable. The fish lay in salt three to ten days depending on the weather, after which it was washed and laid skin upward on beach rocks for a day before being spread on flakes (bough-covered frames) to dry in the sun. At night and in wet weather the fish was turned over and made into small piles. When well dried, a "prest pile" was formed which allowed the salt to sweat out, after which a further

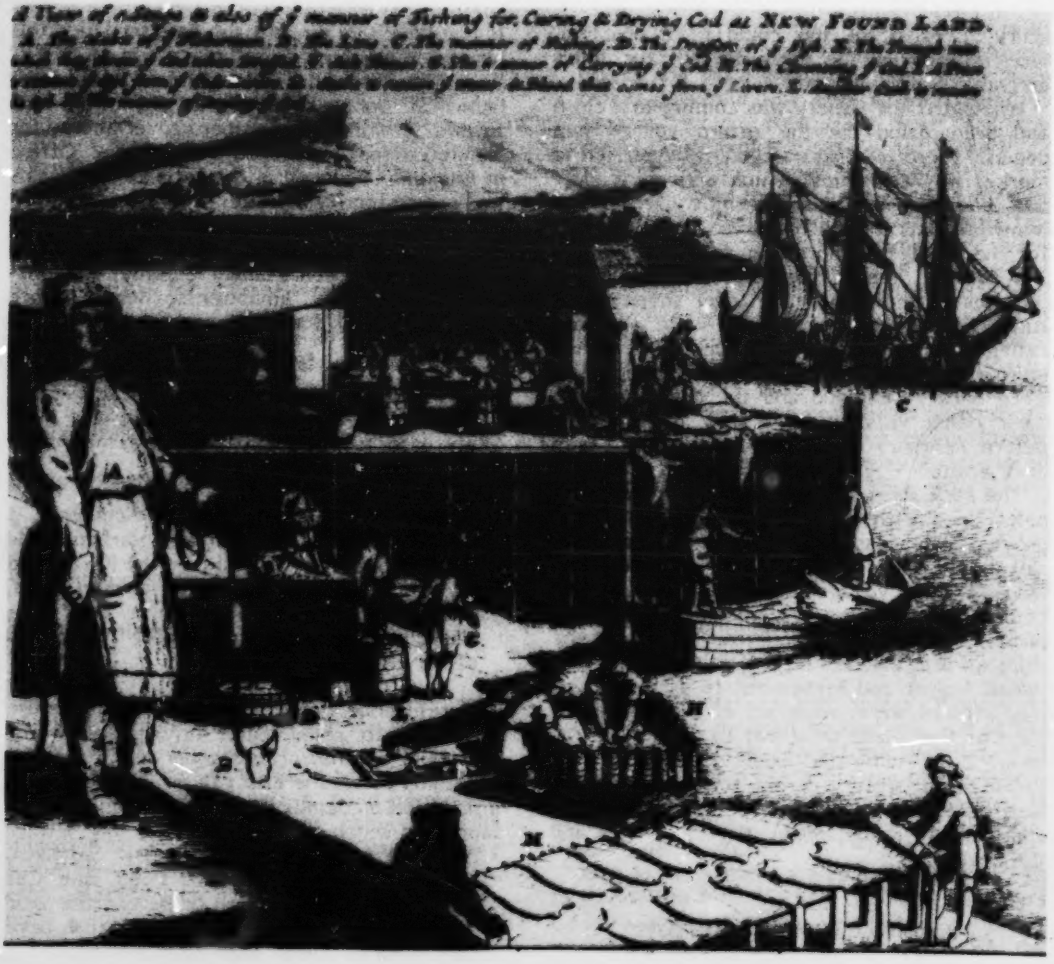

Figure 6. Detail from "Map of North America," Herman Moll, 1712.
(Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's)

day's drying on the rocks took place. The finished product was then piled to await loading aboard the ship where it would be packed tightly using large stones.

At the height of the fishing season the work was arduous and almost unending. The fishermen rowed and fished all day as well as worked to secure bait - herring, capelin, squid and sometimes mussels. The shoremen rarely got more than two hours rest a night. Other discomforts added to their misery:

> In July, the musceto: (a little biting fly) and garnippers (a larger one) will much vex us. Sometimes the boys are so tired with labour they will steal off and hide under the flakes, or get into the woods and sleep 3 or 4 hours, so hearty that they feel not the muscetoes, who by the time he wakes shall have swoln him blind, and then he knows not to get out.[4]

Diseases and infections also called for medical attention - colds from the changeable weather, sores on the wrists (probably cuts infected from handling the fish), and the dreaded

scurvy. Frostbite too could be a problem, especially during the early days of the ship's arrival in Newfoundland.

By August the fishery was coming to a close and preparation for the return voyage had begun. The dried fish was generally carried to market in "sack ships" which arrived in July for loading. The fishing ships carried too many men and too much gear to be economical for the storage of more than the cod oil and a few lots of "green" (not dried) fish. Often sections of the stages and other shore structures were taken aboard to serve as fuel, rather than leave them to the mercy of winter storms and ice. By late fall the fishing ships were back in England and the crews back to their home villages for a few months rest before February arrived and the cycle began once again.

The sack ships, with their cargoes packed in holes lined with small dry wood (dinnage) to prevent dampness reaching the fish, had set sail for the warm countries of western Europe. Many of the voyages, however, were never completed. Pirates, especially the Barbary pirates of the Mediterranean, ravaged the ships as they neared their destinations. Between August and September 1611, for example, attacks were made on 17 Newfoundland ships as they made their way to the Mediterranean.[5] The Admiralty Court records for the seventeenth century reveal constant losses of Newfoundland ships due to piracy as they approached France, Spain, Portugal, Italy and the Levant.

### Expansion into Bonavista Bay

The migratory fishery carried on by the English West Adventurers was the major activity in seventeenth century Newfoundland. A number of colonies had been attempted (such as the first headed by John Guy at Cupids in Conception Bay in 1610) but without much success. Gradually, though, some individuals ("planters" as they were called) remained over winter on the island and formed the basis of settlements. Their numbers were small - in 1676 the English population was only 1490 people scattered through thirty communities, and the actual permanent population was less than one-third of that figure.[6]

The focus of the fishery remained on the Avalon Peninsula and the English seem to have fished northward of Bonavista on a regular basis only after the mid-seventeenth century. It is difficult to pinpoint the date on which this expansion northward took place. In 1679 William Downing and Thomas Oxford (two well-known St. John's citizens who did much work toward obtaining a proper government for Newfoundland) petitioned the Colonial Office in England. Included in the series of proposals was one to fortify Salvage:

> Salvage forty leagues from St. John's being about seven years since cleared and possessed only by Inhabitants, never before used by any to fortify it, ten guns and eighty small arms.[7]

This would place the first English settling of Salvage at 1672, although the area was most likely used to some extent before that time. *The English Pilot* of 1689 notes:

> And two little leagues farther Northerly, is Bonavist...and N.E. from the Harbour, and bout it, Boats use to Fish: to the Northward of which our English Ships do not Fish, except (till within this year or two) at a Harbour called Salvages, to the Northward of Bonavist.[8]

This reference would seem to confirm the use of Salvage for some years, although the wording could be interpreted otherwise. Further confusion about the exact date arises from an inscription on James Cook's 1763 map of Newfoundland which reads:

> Note: Port Bonavista, Keels, Salvages, Gooseberry Islands, Greens Pond, and Cat Harbour were settled on or before the year 1660.... All of which places the English have continued to fish at since first settled.[9]

Written over 100 years after the events noted, this reference may well be inaccurate since other documented evidence contradicts it. Greenspond, for example, is more likely to have been first settled in 1698.[10]

The early 1670s, therefore, seems the most accurate date for the roots of English settlement beyond Bonavista. The first census available which covers the area was Captain Russell's "Accompt of ye English Inhabitants of Newfoundland."[11] His 1676 list for "Solvadge" records:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| John Chambers | 1 boat | 5 servants |
| Richard Stocks | 1 boat | 5 servants<br>wife and one child |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| John Pritchard | 1 boat | 5 servants<br>wife and one child |
| John Pett | 2 boats | 11 servants<br>wife and two children |
| John Knight | 2 boats | 11 servants<br>wife and two children |
| John Warren | 2 boats | 11 servants |

Five years later in 1681, Captain Story's "List of Planters"[12] for Salvage showed:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Arthur Planker | 2 boats | 20 servants<br>wife and one child |
| John Pencard | 1 boat | 5 servants<br>wife and four children |
| William Adlorn | 1 boat | 5 servants |
| William Warren | 1 boat | 5 servants |
| John Pett | 2 boats | 16 servants<br>wife and five children |
| Richard Succles | 1 boat | 5 servants<br>wife and two children |
| Thomas Bishop | 1 boat | 3 servants |

This almost complete change of planters (none of whose surnames are found in the settlement today) seems to indicate that rather than being a permanent year-round settlement, Salvage in those years was a semi-permanent residence for fishermen who came with the intention of staying only a few years before returning to England or perhaps moving to other places, such as the New England colonies.

Likewise Barrow Harbour and the Gooseberry Islands, although quite a bit older than most places in Bonavista Bay, remained semi-permanent settlements through to the end of the eighteenth century. Captain Russell's "Accompt" of 1676 listed two planters at Barrow Harbour (John Bayly and Christopher Cooke) and a total of thirty-five servants. There were, however, no women, and the "Accompt" of the following year, 1677, listed neither of these two men.

The early winter inhabitants of Bonavista Bay, after the products of their summer's fishing had been sold to the departing ships, took to the surrounding woods. In 1681 Captain Story recorded that these men lived off furs, staying in the woods for seven months. He added:

> The planters go a furring about the middle of September and take no provisions with them but bread and salt, finding beavers, otters and seals enough to feed them, they carry guns and kill also a great deal of venison, which they salt down for the winter; they return about the 1st May.[13]

Probably these men did not need to venture very far from their headland settlements before they encountered the game they were seeking. Perhaps the planters of Salvage and Barrow Harbour had only to go inland a few miles to satisfy their needs. One is inclined to think, however, that some of the more adventuresome boarded their boats and rowed deeper into Bonavista Bay, coming ashore in the present Newman Sound perhaps to take advantage of what must have been prime furring territory. Whether or not they encountered Beothucks must also remain, for now, a subject of speculation.

## Cartographic Survey - Part II

As the Portuguese and Spanish fishery in Newfoundland declined toward the end of the sixteenth century so too did the importance of their maps. From the beginning of the seventeenth century the dominant influences in Newfoundland hydrography were English, French and Dutch.[14]

John Mason's map of Newfoundland (Fig. 7), first published in 1625 in William Vaughan's *Combrensium Coreleia*, showed a major improvement in the representation of the Avalon Peninsula, although it was much less accurate for other parts of the island. Mason, who had spent seven years as governor of Guy's colony at Cupids, surveyed the peninsula himself, but probably did not voyage to the northeast coast since on the map the bays in that region are left open. The area immediately north of Bonavista is designated as "Bay of Flowers." This became the most common English term for Bonavista Bay until the time of James Cook.

Mason's map had great influence on the later seventeenth century cartography of the island. The great Dutch cartographer W.J. Blaeu, for example, used it in drawing a series of charts about 1630 which became the most widely used navigational charts for the North Atlantic. As on Mason's map, "Bay of

Figure 7. "Newfound land," John Mason, 1625.
(Arts and Culture Centre Library, St. John's)

Flowers" appeared with the bottom of the bay left open.

On a 1677 map by Hack we have, according to G.R.F. Prowse, the appearance for the first time of Salvage on a map.[15] This may be the first appearance of a specified Bonavista Bay place-name. The date coincides approximately with that arrived at for the beginning of its regular use as a fishing station by the English. "Salvages" is also listed in *The English Pilot* of 1689 as the farthest north of the English fishing harbours.[16]

## THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Throughout the eighteenth century the area under study retained the temporary nature of occupancy begun in the latter part of the seventeenth century. No communities in the true sense of the word (i.e. having a solid demographic basis and continuity) developed. There was intermittent occupancy of the headland communities of Barrow Harbour and

Salvage and some contact with the deep reaches of Clode and Newman sounds, but it would be the nineteenth century before permanent settlement began. If a pattern of change through the century is evident, it is probably one of expansion of the resource-based economy.[1]

### Anglo-French Rivalry

Events in other, more densely populated areas of the island affected Bonavista Bay to some extent, but the bay was still considered remote, being on the fringe of the English fishing enterprise in Newfoundland. In fact, as the great conflict between the English and French in Newfoundland developed in the early years of the century, the enemy seemed hardly aware of any English settlement beyond Cape Bonavista.

With the decline of the Spanish and Portuguese fishery in Newfoundland in the late 1500s, France and England became the only real competitors for the cod stocks surrounding the island. The contact between them remained peaceful for the most part, with each confining their fishing to a different section of the Newfoundland coast. As the seventeenth century wore on, however, tensions increased, especially after the French established their first colony on the island, at Placentia on the south coast in the 1660s. The English viewed the French south coast fishery as having a great advantage in the marketplace - the fishing season started earlier and, with the excellent beaches for drying, the product reached the market first and thus obtained a better price. By 1689, when war between the two nations was declared in Europe, conflict on the island erupted. It reached a climax during the winter of 1695-96 as the French under D'Iberville pushed overland from Placentia, destroying all the English settlements on the island, except Carbonear Island and Bonavista, and, we assume, any settlements north of that point. The inhabitants were either imprisoned in Placentia or deported to England.

During the subsequent years of French attacks Bonavista did not fare well. The town suffered considerable damage in 1702 and 1703. In August 1704, due to the bravery and military knowledge of a New England trader, Captain Michael Gill, the town escaped almost certain destruction. Gill, in his 150-ton ship armed with 14 guns and carrying 24 men, had managed to hold back a late night attack by 144 Frenchmen and Canadian Indians. The following spring Bonavista was attacked again and this time, under the command of George Sceffington, quickly surrendered and agreed to pay a ransom.[2]

History records no attacks north of Bonavista, although a request to fortify Salvage had come many years earlier (a request that seems to have been ignored).[3] Settlement there remained small and insignificant and perhaps even unknown to the French. The 1702 census, for example, listed a population of only fifteen for Salvage and nineteen for Barrow Harbour, much less than recorded for either 1676 or 1681. In the year after the French attacks on Bonavista, the census recorded an even smaller number - four for Salvage and twelve for Barrow Harbour.[4] These figures are noted as the summer population; the sites apparently had no winter inhabitants. The people either returned to England or to Bonavista at the end of the fishing season, or took to the woods for the winter months, as had done the inhabitants of 1681.

The Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 ended the Anglo-French conflict started in 1689. Although suffering defeat in Newfoundland, the English had been the victors in the sea battles and the military confrontations in Europe. The French were forced to give up Placentia and any right to colonization of Newfoundland, but the terms of peace appeared on the surface to have serious consequences for the English fishery north of Bonavista. One section of the agreement read:

> ....But it shall be allowed to the subjects of French to catch fish and to dry them on land in that part only, and in no other besides that, of the said Island of Newfoundland, which stretches from the place called Cape Bonavista to the northern point of the said island, and from thence running down by the western side, reaches as far as the place called Point Riche...[5]

This was the beginning of the infamous "French Shore" problem which plagued the English occupation of Newfoundland until the twentieth century. But why Cape Bonavista as the starting point? Were the English not aware of their own use of Bonavista Bay? By the time of the treaty this use had extended as far as Greenspond. A letter from William Cosh of Bonavista to Colonel Norris, dated September 7th, 1698, stated:

> I think it my duty to aquaint your Honour

that to the North side of this bay are many extraordinary harbours and better fishing; one William Wyng has fished there some years (it being 14 leagues N Wc N° from this place) who has still increased the inhabitants of this place very considerably, and this year one Nowill has been that way who has more fish for his two boats than they have for shallops, so that next summer severall of the inhabitants of this harbour design to remove thither and their masters of ships that have fished there this year intend to be likewise, for it is certain the fewer boats are kept in a place the better the fishing.[6]

This letter is taken as clear reference to the founding of Greenspond. Yet the English seemed content to include the area as part of the French Shore, even though the French themselves did not use it at the time. The French use of the coast began, for the most part, at White Bay, with only a few vessels in even Notre Dame Bay.[7] It seems odd therefore that Cape Bonavista should be the eastward extent of the shoreline designated to the French. Perhaps the English were indeed unaware of the limits of their own activity or perhaps they wanted the clear and sharp point of distinction Cape Bonavista offered.

In the years subsequent to the signing of the treaty, however, there was no noticeable effect on the English use of Bonavista Bay. The English interpreted the treaty to mean that the French had concurrent, but not exclusive, rights between Point Riche and Cape Bonavista and the French seemed content to confine their fishing to the area north of Bonavista Bay which they had traditionally used. The English occupation north of Cape Bonavista, rather than declining as might be expected, did in fact show considerable expansion. In 1729 they took advantage of the temporary abandoning of Notre Dame Bay by the French due to failure of the fishery and established a settlement at Fogo. By 1732 both Fogo and Twillingate were sizable settlements: in 1739 they could boast 386 winter inhabitants.[8]

In the years that followed, especially during the Seven Years War of 1756-63, the English pressed even farther north. Finally, with the Treaty of Versailles in 1783, the French gave up all fishing rights between Cape Bonavista and Cape John. Bonavista Bay and Notre Dame Bay became exclusively the domain of the English.

### Instability in the Bay

During the last quarter of the seventeenth century expansion into the headland communities of Bonavista Bay leapt ahead. Settlement, although temporary, seemed to hold promise for a permanent population migration and for community development of Salvage and Barrow Harbour in the eighteenth century. This did not materialize. The population of the area continued to fluctuate and remained unstable throughout the eighteenth century.

Population statistics during the first decade of the century, as noted in the previous sections, showed a marked drop from those twenty-five years earlier. This may in part have been due to the French disruption of the English fishery, but other, more fundamental reasons were more likely behind the declining use of the area. C. Grant Head has hypothesized the distribution of the inshore cod resource of eastern Newfoundland during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[9] That hypothesized for the Salvage and Barrow Harbour area is small compared to that for other parts of the bay, and much smaller than for the Bonavista and Greenspond areas which were the major growth centres of the bay. Therefore there probably was not a big enough cod resource at the time to support a permanent population and travel much beyond the home communities in search of cod was not feasible during that era. One must continuously bear in mind that dried cod was still almost the sole commodity produced on the island. As later events will show, permanent movement into the area under study is closely correlated with a diversification of the economic base of the southern part of the bay.

Some diversification was taking place in Bonavista Bay in the early 1700s, but it seems to have been confined to an area north of that under study. In 1705 a salmon fishery was being carried on north of Bonavista by George Skeffington, using weirs to block the path of the spawning salmon and seines to catch them. By the end of the 1720s he had commercial salmon operations at Dog Bay and Freshwater Bay in Bonavista Bay and at Ragged Harbour and the Gander River in Notre Dame Bay. Salmon production for Bonavista Bay during the eighteenth century ranged from 200 to 800 tierces (tierce: a 42-gallon cask).[10] Both Clode and Newman sounds lack prime salmon rivers and commercial exploitation of the nearest one, Terra Nova River, would not be undertaken until the early 1800s.

Barrow Harbour and Salvage, then, declined in both population and importance as the seventeenth century began. Following the 1706 census in which they were listed separately, both became subsumed under "Bonavista," a trend that continued well past mid-century. One is inclined to speculate that not only was the population low, but may have been non-existent for certain years.[11] This view is supported by the fact that the English cod fishery had reached a low point throughout the island in the early 1700s. "Between 1711 and 1728 the fishery failed almost every year in every part of the English Shore...."[12] The worst effects of this failure were felt by the planters who found it practically impossible to engage servants for the fishery. Only the most firmly established communities could be expected to weather the tide of poor luck.

This is not to say that exploitation of the resources of the southern part of Bonavista Bay was abandoned altogether. Evidence suggests that at mid-century residents of the headlands, most likely Bonavista itself or Keels, were venturing into the reaches of the bay, whether for trapping purposes or for heavy timber, a resource which by that time must have been largely used up in the immediate vicinity of the communities themselves. Record of a few cleared sites and a grave marked 1755 offer proof of the use of Bread Cove, deep in Clode Sound, during those years.[13]

If trapping did take place at the time (and one could hardly believe that it was not at least a secondary reason for travelling that far in the bay), then the merchant outlet for the furs may well have been American traders to be found in Bonavista at the time. The activities of one, Thomas Hancock of Boston, are particularly well documented. Through several agents on the island, including one at Bonavista, Hancock carried on a brisk trade, bartering foodstuffs, rum and other commodities for skins, feathers and fish. In the 1740s he was showing particular interest in seal skins, "both dry and pickled."[14]

The sealing industry in those years was not, as it is today, exclusively a spring affair involving hunting by gun in open boats or killing on vast ice pans, but rather began in December when strong nets were strung between headlands and off-shore islands or moored in open water (sometimes to a depth of 40 fathoms or more).[15] Seal skins as well as seal oil were in demand, the amount brought to market fluctuating from year to year with the changing ice and herd conditions. For example, 1768 saw £12,664 worth of seal oil sent from Newfoundland compared to the 1749 sale of £1,016.[16] John Bland, the magistrate at Bonavista at the time, recorded that between the years 1791 and 1802 the seal kill ranged from five to twenty thousand.[17] Of particular interest was the winter of 1791-92 during which continuous gales from the northeast brought towards land a great number of seals without any ice, a rare occurrence. Of the ten thousand caught in Bonavista Bay that year, seven thousand were netted at Bonavista alone, providing a sizable profit to the fishermen. Just what part of the remaining three thousand were taken in the area under study is difficult to determine. Greenspond and northern Bonavista Bay in general have traditionally been principal centres for sealing activity, so one would expect that fishermen in that region took a large percentage. By that year, however, Barrow Harbour had once more become an active fishing centre so no doubt some of the seals captured came from near that headland.

The reemergence of Barrow Harbour as an important centre can be traced back to the 1760s. A general trend of population expansion in Bonavista Bay had, in fact, begun in the 1750s in the wake of the rise of Fogo and Twillingate in Notre Dame Bay.[18] This expansion was due largely to the spread of the Lester family fishing operation northward from Trinity Bay. The Lesters, merchants from Poole in England, came to dominate the migratory fishing trade of both Trinity and Bonavista Bay in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

## Lester of Poole

The West Country merchant has been defined as a man who owned his own seagoing vessels and had the capacity to import goods into his own stores in Newfoundland and to export fish directly to the market abroad.[19] He has often been portrayed as the villain in Newfoundland's history. Seen in an objective light though, he appears rather as a hardworking realist engaged in one of the most unpredictable enterprises in the world. Such a man was Benjamin Lester.

Our knowledge of the Lester fishing enterprise comes largely from Benjamin Lester's

diary, a remarkable journal which he wrote while living in Trinity, Trinity Bay, as the head of the business in Newfoundland.[20] His brother, living in Poole in England, handled the English end of the trading arrangements. In the 1760s the operation expanded into Bonavista Bay, with the setting up of three substations - at Bonavista, Greenspond and Barrow Harbour. They came not only to enlarge their cod fisheries, but to establish additional bases for furring, sealing and salmon catching.

The diary contains numerous references to Barrow Harbour:

| | |
|---|---|
| August 19, 1762 | "Sent....to Barrow Harbour for some provisions of Lemon's Brig." |
| May 14, 1747 | "Capt. Frederickson went out at 10 o'clock for Barrow Harbour" |
| June 12, 1767 | "....our shalloway from Barrow Harbour arrived with a load salt, discharged 30 hogsheads...." |
| Sept. 24, 1767 | "....and that sloop was going from Tilting Harbour to Barrow Harbour with a load of salt..." |
| Oct. 16, 1768 | "....The Rachael sailed from Barrow Harbour with 4079 Q fish and 16 tearces salmon...." |
| Aug. 12, 1769 | "....plenty of bait and whales...jus to s'ward of Barrow Harbour....caplin plenty." |
| Nov. 10, 1788 | "....Lord North to return with salt to Barrow Harbour." |
| July 4, 1801 | "....the northern coast full of ice. The Union went from Trinity to go to Barrow Harbour to load fish, obliged to return for the ice all in...."[21] |

The initial attraction of Barrow Harbour was its excellently sheltered harbour (some believe the best in Bonavista Bay), in sharp contrast to the openness of Bonavista. In 1762, in response to an impending attack by the French, eighteen ships left Trinity and sailed northward to Barrow Harbour for safety. By July 8th the danger had passed and the sloop carrying carpenters, Mrs. Lester and the family was able to return. The diary noted that all the family was well.[22] Although offering shelter when the need arose, Barrow Harbour eventually functioned primarily as a central depot where fish could be brought from the fishing areas nearby, including the communities of Keels and King's Cove. A warehouse was built there and vessels arrived directly from across the Atlantic with loads of salt. Salvage, which in the late 1600s seemed to equal Barrow Harbour in importance, now played a secondary role.

We have no statistics on Barrow Harbour in particular, but Lester was at the time dealing heavily in salmon, furs and other products. A journal entry for December 1767 noted cargoes consisting of salmon, berries (60 gallons), 3 live foxes and a large quantity of skins valued at £1050 - 143 fox, 1883 marten, 366 otter, 521 beaver. We may assume that some of this cargo came from Bonavista Bay, perhaps even the bulk of it since expansion of their secondary resource operation was a major reason for Lester's move north of Trinity Bay. We may also assume that trapping in Clode and Newman sounds contributed part of this December cargo.

Trapping was not the sole winter activity for the inhabitants scattered at several places throughout the bay. Cutting and sawing timber for use in the summer fishing operation also kept them busy. It was reported:

> In winter they generally work hard in cutting timber for the Summer use in fixing their fish Flakes, Sawing Boards & plank for building Ships & Boats, making Cask, hunting for Furrs & in the Seil Fishery.[23]

The seal fishery, as previously discussed, provided a sizable secondary income. Tradition has it in fact that Benjamin Lester and Company were the first to encourage travel to the ice fronts in boats and shallops, the beginning of the spring seal hunt as we know it today.[24]

With the death of Benjamin Lester the firm passed into the hands of first his son and then four years later his son-in-law, George Garland, who continued to operate the business during the early decades of the nineteenth century. Eventually though, as with other West Country enterprises throughout the island, the business died out. The early nineteenth century marked the rise of a new group of businessmen, the Water Street merchants, as St. John's stepped into the forefront of Newfoundland's economy.

## The American Revolution and After

Lester's enterprise in Bonavista Bay probably reached its height in the 1760s and early 1770s. In 1776 there occurred an event which, though seemingly distant, would have a far-reaching effect on Newfoundland - the American Revolution. Its effect on the migratory fishery alone was devastating - the total catch for the island declined from nearly 270,000 quintals in 1775 to less than one-tenth of that in 1781.[25] The sudden drop in the catches must have been particularly noticeable in Bonavista Bay which had one of the highest proportions of migratory fishing boats anywhere on the island. There were more than four times as many of them as there were boats owned by inhabitants.[26] Americans, having learned well the waters surrounding the island through their years as traders, returned in 1776 as privateers. Lying in wait off the coast, they captured many of the fish-laden ships of their English enemy as they headed for market. They plundered and captured other ships as well, especially the South Coast bankers. The Newfoundlanders and Royal Navy fought back and, although successful in capturing several of the American vessels, they were unable to return stability to the fishing operation.

The situation greatly affected the population of the island in another way. Previous to the Revolution the American trading ships had arrived on Newfoundland's shores in large numbers (175, for example, in 1774) and the inhabitants had come to depend on the foodstuffs they carried. By 1776 the number of ships arriving had declined to only three, while in years subsequent privateers disrupted the flow of supplies from England. Food became scarce and famine raged. The suffering seemed to increase the greater the distance from St. John's. One missionary from Conception Bay commented on the tragedy of women and children starving.[27] The situation in Trinity and Bonavista bays must have been equally as bad or worse.

The Revolution had a three-fold effect on the social and economic state of the island. Migratory fishing activity, such as that carried on by Lester, decreased substantially as the resident population increased. Because the war had disrupted the normal flow of food supplies, residents were forced to rely on Britain, and more importantly, on themselves, for food. The island's agricultural output increased sharply. And finally, due to the fact that St. John's harbour afforded excellent protection from privateers, its population grew, a major reason for its later emergence as Newfoundland's economic centre. In 1799 it was noted by one who had sailed around the island that Newfoundland appeared to be more a colony than a fishery because of its large population which owned houses and land and which remained throughout the winter.[28]

As the eighteenth century came to a close the population of Newfoundland was still a mere 27,000. Nevertheless, an important change had taken place through the century, a change not in numbers but in the nature of the population. The percentage of the inhabitants who remained on the island each winter had increased substantially, from fifteen per cent in the seventeenth century to fifty per cent and more by the end of the eighteenth century. And just as important was the fact that the numbers of women and children wintering in Newfoundland had risen sharply. No longer was the population overwhelmingly male. The demographic characteristics of true settlements had gained a firm hold.[29]

For Bonavista Bay these changes meant many things: most importantly in the context of this study, they led to the expansion of permanent settlement. With the migratory fishery well on its way towards an end and with a rise in the resident population of the previously established communities (such as Bonavista, Keels and Greenspond), the time was ripe for segments of these communities to break away and move in search of less crowded sites where, as pioneer families, they could take root. The early decades of the nineteenth century witnessed such moves, turning what had for more than a century been areas of intermittent occupancy into the sites of firmly based, permanent communities.

## Cartographic Survey - Part III

For three-quarters of the eighteenth century the maps of Newfoundland still showed a poor, misrepresented outline of Bonavista Bay and its islands. No one name for the bay itself yet emerged. "Bay of Flowers" persisted on some maps, "Frelay Bay," on others (Fig. 8), and still others used the terms "B. de Kork," "B. de Kore" (Fig. 9), "Cork Baia" or "Cork Bay." Fabian O'Dea, a leading authority on

the early cartography of Newfoundland, believes that this last term may be a corruption of the French "orquers," meaning grampus or whale (pers. com.).

The 1767 map (Fig. 10) of Jean Bellin (who was attached to the French Marine Office), although pointedly inaccurate for the inner part of the bay, is interesting for the place-names included on it. "Baye Claude" may offer a clue about the origin of the present-day name "Clode Sound." If originally named by the French (this is debatable because of their limited use of the area), then the anglicizing of the French pronunciation of "Claude" may have resulted in the English term. "Bara H." (probably the present-day Barrow Har-

**Figure 8. Detail from "A New and Exact Map of the Dominions of the King of Great Britain on ye continent of North America," Herman Moll, 1715. (Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's)**

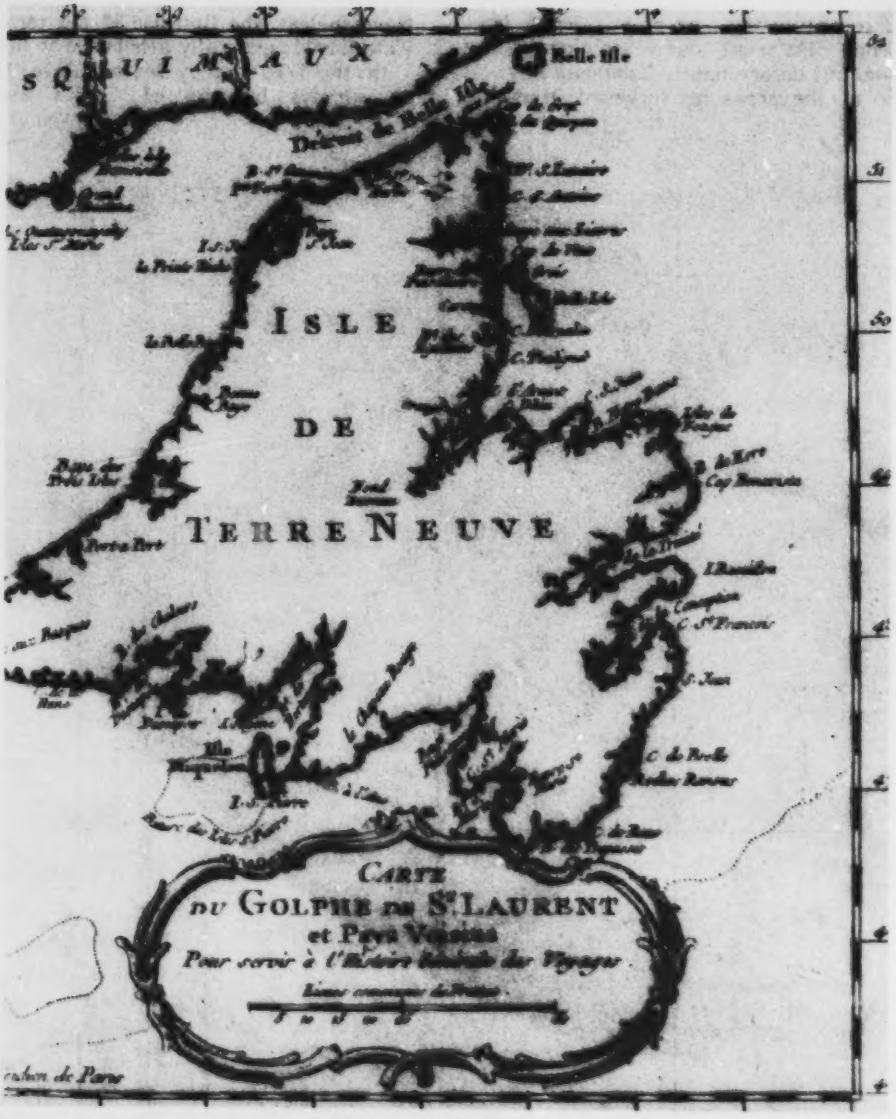


Figure 9. Detail from "Carte du Golphe de St. Laurent et Pays Voisins," Bellin, 1757. (Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's)

bour) is also listed. As with other maps up to that time, there is no detail beyond the headlands. The map points out that the depths of the bays are unknown.

Even the early maps of James Cook and his associates failed to outline fully the reaches of the bay (Fig. 11). It was Cook, however, who gave us the first accurate map of Newfoundland's coastline as a whole. Cook came to the island in 1762 as part of the flagship

sent to recapture the port of St. John's from the French. He spent four years charting the coastline, but unfortunately Bonavista Bay was not one of the areas he surveyed in detail. Nevertheless, the first use of the term "Bonavista Bay" is generally attributed to him.

On the 1775 map by Jefferys (Fig. 11, based on surveys by one of Cook's associates,

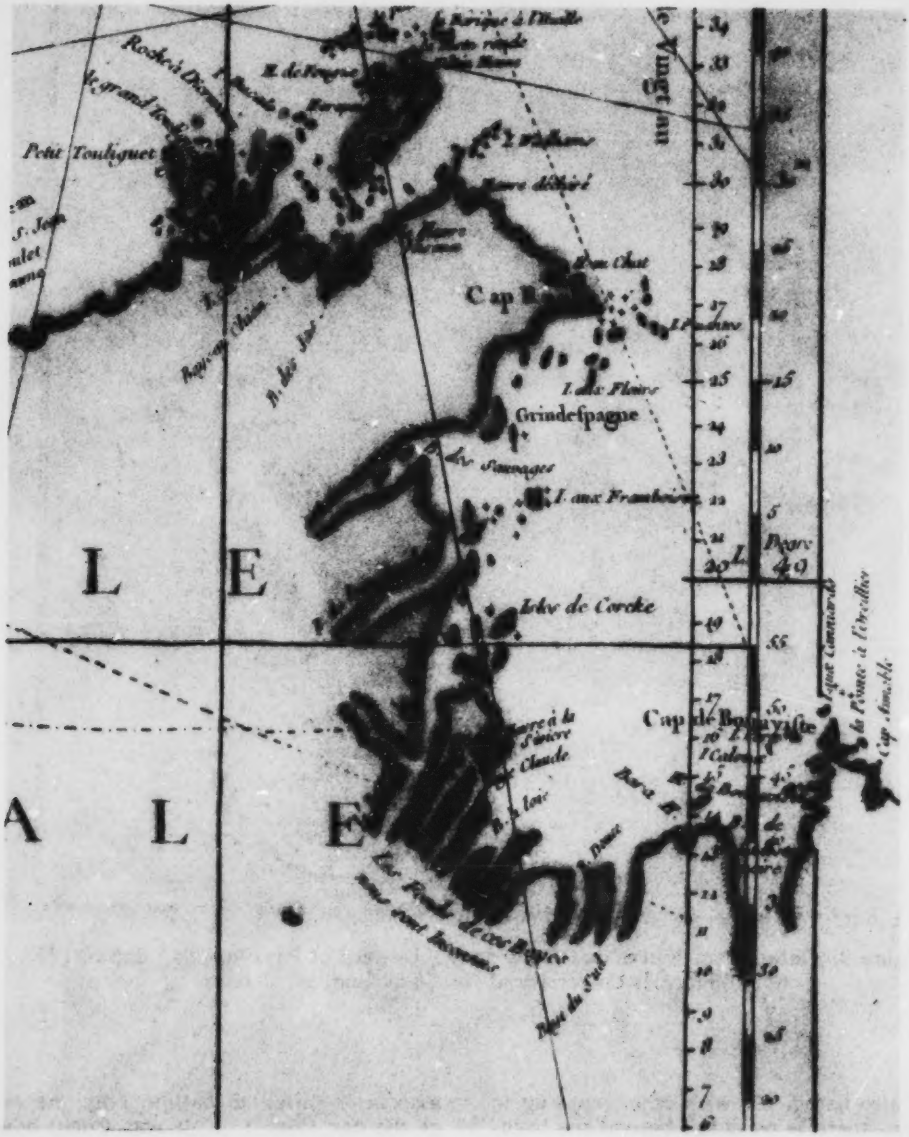


Figure 10. Detail from "Carte Réduite de la Partie Septentrionale de L'Isle de Terre Neuve," S. Bellin, 1767. (Arts and Culture Centre Library, St. John's)

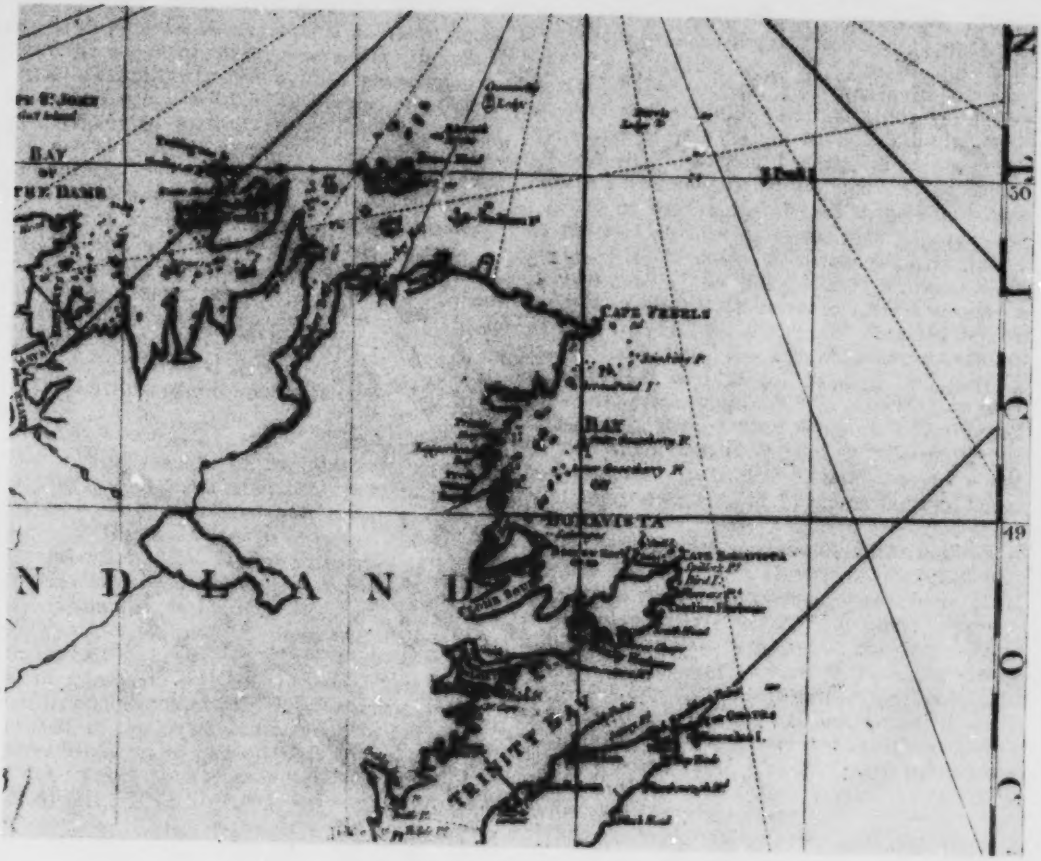


Figure 11. Detail from "A General Chart of the Island of Newfoundland with Rocks and Soundings drawn from recent surveys taken by James Cook and Michael Lane, Surveyors; and others," Thomas Jefferys, 1775. (Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's)

Michael Lane) both Clode and Newman sounds appear, perhaps the first occurrence of present-day park place-names in English. The well-known surveyor must have visited and charted the area at the time of Lester's fishing enterprise. (Gordon Handcock, who has done considerable work on the eighteenth century history of Bonavista Bay, believes the term "Newman" to have originated from the surname found in Bonavista at the time, pers. com.) The bottom of Clode Sound remained open on the map. With the subsequent surveys

Figure 12. Detail from "The Island of Newfoundland Laid Down from Surveys taken by Lieut. Michael Lane, Principal Surveyor of the said Island," 1790. (Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's)

by Lane, however, its closed form was shown (Fig. 12). Certainly the most accurate representation of Bonavista Bay to that time, this 1790 map is witness to the increased use of the area in the latter part of the century. No longer a mysterious and uncharted region, it was not long before the surveying extended past the shoreline to produce our first cartographic representation of the interior.

## THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The changes during the nineteenth century were vast and sweeping. The population of the island as a whole increased ten-fold. The area under study, still without permanent settlers in the true sense of the word at the beginning

of the century, witnessed the birth of no less than fifteen permanently settled communities within the space of eighty years. The fundamental services provided by the government and the church - schools, organized religion, roads, courts of justice, railroads, etc. - all were introduced, if, in some cases, only in a rudimentary form. The fishery continued to be the dominant occupation, although by century's end a trend in some communities away from the sea and toward the land resources forecasted a restructuring of the whole economy of the area.

### The Pattern of Permanent Settlement

The opening decades of the nineteenth century saw a new generation of fishermen who had known no competition from the migratory fishery.[1] The island's cod fishery was now being prosecuted by inhabitants who looked upon Newfoundland as their home, not as a place of summer residency. This change was one important factor in the rise of permanent communities between the previously settled sites of Bonavista and Greenspond. The permanent populations of these communities had increased to the point where some individuals felt that they could gain a better living from the fishery by moving to a less competitive environment. This situation of overcrowding was probably glaringly apparent during the widespread famine of 1815-17 (brought about by low prices for fish in the wake of the War of 1812-15).[2]

Where to go? The choice was obvious - to sites that had a proven cod resource and a tradition of temporary use, such as Barrow Harbour and Salvage. The cod was still by far the dominant consideration in population migration. Macpherson, in his extensive study "A Modal Sequence in the Peopling of Central Bonavista Bay, 1676-1857," theorized that the 1820s most likely marked the beginning of permanent settlement in Barrow Harbour and Salvage, although some evidence points to possible migration during the previous decade. We know that of the two fishing rooms listed for Barrow Harbour and the three listed for Salvage in 1806 only one was occupied by anyone who established a permanent connection with that same community, and that connection seems to have occurred later due to the fact that the particular occupant had a son born and baptized in Bonavista in 1809.[3]

Firm evidence of permanent occupancy by 1827 is available in the form of the first recorded marriage of two occupants of Salvage, Thomas Oldford and Maria Hunter.[4] The marriage of the couple in Bonavista is confirmed by the diary of Thomas Gaylor, "Occurrences at Bonavista," in an entry dated October 7th of that year.[5] By 1832 the population of the two communities was officially recorded as 250, a dramatic growth since initial occupancy.[6] This figure, however, must have included seasonal inhabitants since the census of 1836 (the first of a series of detailed census taken throughout the century) listed populations of 181 and 37 for Salvage and Barrow Harbour, respectively. In a short time they both had grown to become substantial communities, concerned not only with fishing but with the cultivation of land (potatoes and hay) and the rearing of livestock (horses, hogs, sheep and "neat cattle").[7]

The bulk of the migrant families had come from Bonavista, with only a few from Keels and its surrounding communities (which had themselves been initially populated from Bonavista). The families - the Babstocks, Browns, Lanes, etc. - were without exception of West Country English extraction, the county of Dorset being the original home of most of them. This homogeneity, common to the bay as a whole, is the basic factor behind the often-made assertion that Bonavista Bay has a distinctive regional nature.

The settling of Barrow Harbour and Salvage was followed closely by migration into the adjacent harbour of Broom Close, which like Barrow Harbour has since ceased to have a settled population. Broom Close remained small and relatively insignificant throughout most of the nineteenth century. Much more important in terms of future population was the founding of Bloody Bay (later Alexander Bay and the future site of Glovertown) in approximately 1834.[8] It marked the beginning of settlement in the reaches under study and the first instance of a southern Bonavista Bay community permanently occupied for reasons other than the cod fishery.

The initial settling of Bloody Bay is interesting because it remained a one-family community for twenty-three years - the home of Richard Stroud, his wife and family, which by 1857 consisted of nine girls and one boy. Stroud was an Englishman who came to undertake the establishment of a salmon fishery at the mouth of the Terra Nova River, under an

arrangement with Brooking and Garland, merchants at Greenspond. In 1840 it was reported:

> He had this summer caught forty-six tierce besides those consumed by his family. This was reckoned a very great catch for the mouth of one river. He had a comfortable house, a few cattle, and several very pretty little cleared spots or gardens, in which grew abundance of excellent potatoes, cabbages, greens, and turnips. The flat land on each side of the brook is half a mile wide, and is of good quality. Deer and game of all sorts are very abundant at the proper seasons; and he said he generally made 20 (£) during the winter by the sale of game and furs. This, with perhaps 30 (£) for his summer's work, his house and land rent free, and all his provisions raised by himself, except bread, a little pork, tea, sugar, and molasses, were certainly enough to put him in a condition which many families in England would be but too happy to realize for themselves; but then it must be remembered that none except those born and bred in the island would be able to make anything of it.[9]

Stroud and his family must be considered pioneers in the truest sense of the word. His eldest daughter married Augustus Brefet (a servant of Stroud's, born in France) and eventually came to live in Rosedale, not far from the site of the original settlement. By 1869 the population of the area had risen to eighty.

The 1850s and 1860s saw the establishment of several more communities. The headland settlements of Keels and King's Cove and the newer ones of Barrow Harbour, Broom Close and Salvage had grown to such an extent that migration from them to present-day Sandy Cove, Eastport and Happy Adventure was taking place. These places were visited seasonally for several years beforehand and the abundant wood supplies and more arable land were no doubt strong factors in influencing the moves. Sandy Cove was first listed in the census of 1857, which noted a population of thirty-two consisting of four families.[10] The settling of Happy Adventure dates from the 1860s (the 1869 census listed a population of fifty-one) with the arrival of the Moss, Turner and Powell families. They came from King's Cove (by way of Barrow Harbour), Keels and Bonavista, respectively. Later there was additional migration from Broom Close.[11]

The founding of Eastport (first known as Salvage Bay) is well documented.[12] Permanent residence was initiated by several families from Salvage in 1868. (One man, Henry Dyke, had come to live there in 1865 but the destruction of his house by fire forced him to return to Salvage the same year.) Their main reason for coming was to begin large-scale farming to supply the needs of Salvage, but in time the population and importance of the community they founded came to surpass that of the community from which they migrated. Other Eastport Peninsula settlements also had their origin about this time - Burnside (originally Squid Tickle) was permanently settled about 1870[13] and St. Chad's (originally Damnable) a short time later.[14] Both places were founded by Salvage residents who had wintered in the area for several years before moving.

Traytown (referred to at various times as Mill, Treytown and Troytown) probably saw its first permanent settlers in the late 1870s or early 1880s (the census of 1884 listed nine inhabitants). The earliest people to winter in Traytown are said to be Charles and Stephen Ralph, fishermen from Flat Island who lived there in the 1870s. As well there is an oral tradition of Micmac Indians (Joe and Stephen John) living there simultaneously.[15]

Meanwhile, as settlement in the present-day Eastport-Glovetown area was moving ahead at an unprecedented rate, settlement of almost equal proportion was taking place in the area of Clode Sound and Goose Bay, to the east. The spread of population from Bonavista along the coastline of the bay had given rise in the eighteenth century to communities such as King's Cove and Keels. Eventually permanent migration extended past Chandler's Reach and resulted in the communities of Bloomfield, Musgravetown (originally known as Goose Bay, but renamed in honour of Governor Musgrave), Canning's Cove and Bunyan's Cove. Musgravetown is said to have been founded in 1863.[16] It appears in the census of 1869, listed as having a population of 352. However, this figure most likely included Canning's Cove and Bloomfield as well since the 1874 census listed the three places separately, with a total population of 390 - Bloomfield (126), Musgravetown (207) and Cannon Coves [*sic*] (57). Within ten years the aggregate population had risen to 579. Bunyan's Cove was not listed until the census of 1901 (182 inhabitants) but was probably settled well before that time.

Charlottetown, though first listed in the census of 1891 (sixty-seven inhabitants) is known to have been settled by families from

Cupids in Conception Bay (Spracklin, Fords, Penneys) years before that date.[17] The population was increased with the addition of families from Bonavista (e.g. Simmons) and other areas.[18] Port Blandford (first known as Clode Sound) was inhabited by Micmac Indians as early as 1828.[19] Permanent settlement, however, dates from the early 1880s with the migration of people from Musgravetown.[20] By 1884 it had thirty-six residents, but it was the start of construction of a railway link in 1890 to pass through Port Blandford that boosted its population dramatically. By 1901 it boasted 193 residents. It was the railway as well that gave rise to Terra Nova, the only settlement in the area that does not border on saltwater. The railway went through in 1892 and led to the building of a station and the subsequent influx of loggers and sawmill operators.

### The Rise of the Labrador Fishery

The main reason for the expansion of permanent settlement in southern Bonavista Bay in the early 1800s was, of course, the exploitation of the local codfish resource. The methods of procuring and processing the fish differed little from that which took place in Newfoundland two centuries before.[21] The boats used had evolved from the lugsail type (such as shallops and shalloways[22]) to the spritsail type, probably copies from Irish models. The work, nevertheless, remained hard and tiring, continuing almost non-stop when the fishing and weather were good. The dried product reached the hands of the merchants much as it had done before, except that now the merchant was dealing with a resident, not migratory, population. If the fishery was a good one the fisherman could look forward to a well-stocked storeroom for his winter; if, on the other hand, the fishery was a poor one only meager provisions were his lot and he had nothing to look forward to but a long winter and perhaps an even longer and hungrier spring. The famine in Bonavista which followed the poor fishing season of 1831 (worsened by a very late spring) certainly must have been experienced in other Bonavista Bay communities as well.[23]

Once permanent population had been established the communities grew at a startling rate. Between 1836 and 1857, for example, the combined populations of Barrow Harbour, Broom Close and Salvage increased from 225 to 491 inhabitants. In 1845 Salvage alone had 298 people, a larger population than it has today. This meant an intense pressure on a changeable and perhaps insufficient resource.

> The fish landing of the area cannot be traced...but any evidence available indicates that the inshore fishery was not supplying a satisfactory livelihood; in 1857, in the Central Bonavista Bay area, five to fifteen quintals per man fishing was the range of catch (each man would hope for six to ten times that amount today)....[24]

A report to the Colonial Office for 1866 stated that the small boat fishery along the coast was not sufficient for the increasing population.[25]

Thus, it is estimated that only a few years after the initial settlement the focus of the fishery changed. The "Labrador Fishery," involving voyages from the home communities to the Labrador coast each summer, now became the main occupation. It probably did not involve such a drastic change in outlook as might be imagined because the Labrador fishery had been pursued by residents of Greenspond and the Avalon Peninsula since the latter part of the eighteenth century.[26] By the mid-1800s approximately 700 vessels were sailing from Newfoundland ports to the Labrador coast, many of them passing by Bonavista Bay en route.[27] Once initiated, the Labrador fishery quickly became the mainstay of all the coastal communities in southern Bonavista Bay and continued as such throughout the nineteenth century.

The Labrador fishery (a "floater" fishery, as it was sometimes called) involved schooners of a wide range of tonnage and crew size over the years of its existence. Those of the nineteenth century were generally smaller than in years following, most likely in the twenty to forty ton range, with an average crew of perhaps six men.[28] It is difficult to determine what percentage of the early schooners travelling from Bonavista Bay were actually built in the local area. Some no doubt were since the area was well supplied with the appropriate size of timber. The schooners of that era were, of course, powered by sails. Navigational aids other than compass, log and chart were rare.

Final preparation for the trip "down north" took place in May and early June - the overhauling of the boat and gathering provisions.

The boats set sail usually in the latter part of June, the average sailing time being about a week. During the early years of the fishery the cod seine was in general use (and perhaps simple handlines as well), but in the last quarter of the century the use of the cod trap became the most common method of fishing. By August the boats were generally on the return leg of their voyage. During late summer and early fall the salted "green" fish the boats carried was unloaded, washed and dried on flakes. The fisherman was then ready to carry out his dealings with the merchant, likely one of the several in St. John's who by this time had gained control of Newfoundland's fishing trade.[29]

From the beginning of the fishery and during much of the nineteenth century the system upon which the fishery was organized was known as the "truck" system, which has been described as a remnant of feudalism.[30] The merchants owned the boat and the gear and, in return for their use and the fish caught and dried, they supplied the fishermen with the goods necessary to maintain himself and his family through the year and up to the next fishing season. No money was exchanged. It was a system of economic bondage in which the subsistence of the fisherman and his family during a poor season depended upon the goodwill of the merchant. Eventually a somewhat better "credit system" evolved.

Some years the fishery must have been particularly disastrous, such as 1867 and 1885 when severe gales struck the coast.[31] It continued, however, as the mainstay of Bonavista Bay well into the twentieth century. A further and more detailed description of the Labrador fishery (largely based on first-hand reports from this century) follows in the final section of this study.

### The Winter's Work

The Labrador fishery took precedence over all other endeavours, but the killing of seals that took place each year cannot be overlooked. By the end of the eighteenth century sealing was providing a sizeable supplement to the income of Bonavista Bay fishermen and as the next century progressed its importance grew considerably. The fishery changed from one mainly prosecuted by using nets near the headlands to one that saw hundreds of large decked vessels (many of which were used in the Labrador fishery as well) voyage to the ice front far from land each March. In 1819 the first 100-ton vessel went to the front and by 1851 an amazing 323 sailing vessels averaging in excess of 93 tons each were making the yearly trip. Twenty-three of the vessels sailed from Bonavista Bay, all from the port of Greenspond.[32] By the 1860s steamships had made their appearance in the hunt and eventually the number of vessels powered only by sail decreased substantially.

Some years of the seal hunt were especially noteworthy, such as 1843 which came to be known as the "Bonavista Bay Spring." Drift ice brought the herd to the shoreline and there the ice remained jammed for over a week. One report stated that forty thousand seals were killed by inhabitants of the bay and another noted some of the seals even got on land looking for food.[33] Such an occurrence was indeed a rarity.

The seal fishery was only one aspect of the winter's activity. When the surveyor J.B. Jukes sailed into Clode Sound in July of 1840 he was quick to comment

> Although there are no permanent inhabitants nearer than Barrow Harbour many people come up in the winter to reside, either for the sake of fire-wood or to cut timber. We found, accordingly, many wood-paths and some old houses and huts in the woods near the shore, and all the best and largest timber was there cut out.[34]

Clode Sound and Newman Sound as well (although Jukes did not sail into the latter) were areas of winter activity throughout the century, as they had been for many years before. To turn to the woods once the fishing came to an end in the fall was the natural inclination of a people whose very survival depended on how well they could make use of the natural resources around them.

They cut wood for fuel, for their own use and at times for the markets of St. John's.[35] Others might be engaged in the making of hoops and staves for the construction of fish casks, also brought to St. John's for sale.[36] These were two of the very few ways to earn money during the winter. Most other wood was being cut for domestic use - for saw logs, for fence construction, for use in the building of boats.

Boat construction was often the focal point of a man's winter activities. Through the

years the island had bred men skillful at all aspects of the fishing trade, not least of which was the building of their own boats, from the small ten to fifteen-foot rodney to the larger schooners required for the Labrador fishery. In the case of the latter the work was undertaken by a group of workers rather than individually, often several members of the same family. They worked without blueprints but made use of scale models and their own strong sense of seaworthiness. Judging from the fact that all the biggest and best timber was removed from the coastline of Clode Sound before mid-century, it seems likely that the timber resource had provided wood for the construction of many craft. The reputation of the local wood for boat construction had spread beyond Bonavista Bay. In fact, the men on the boat on which Jukes had travelled in 1840 had come to the head of Clode Sound from Carbonear in Conception Bay for the specific purpose of looking for trees that were of sufficient size to provide the beams of a brig they were building.

The inhabitants who took to the woods in winter lived there in "tilts," crude yet solid and comfortable huts. A tilt (still built for shelter in the woods today) consisted of spruce sticks aligned vertically to form walls and a ridge pole positioned longitudinally to support a roof of smaller round rafters. The walls were tightened with moss and the roof covered with the bark of spruce or fir trees. A hole at one end let in light and allowed for the escape of smoke from the fireplace inside. A couple of bunks of rough construction, a few shelves and a hinged table would complete the interior. The tilts were temporary residences, often serving as shelter for one winter only. If a longer term of residence was required, then additional, more elaborate construction (such as the addition of a floor and the separation of the inside into rooms) was undertaken. There are several accounts of life in these winter dwellings during the nineteenth century, although none for the immediate area under study.[37]

The extensive use of the wood resources of the deep inlets of Bonavista Bay left its mark on what was once rarely visited wilderness area. Besides the denuding of the coastline's tall timber, destructive forest fires in summer did tremendous damage. Bishop James Kelly, sailing into the area in 1870, commented that the once well-wooded shoreline of Chandler's Reach was now burnt and desolate, the result of a fire the previous summer.[38] He had come to visit the newly settled communities of Goose Bay. A quick survey of Clode Sound (which had no inhabitants except in winter) led him to predict a large population for the area within a few years. He was not wrong in his prediction. The winter use of Clode Sound led in part to its permanent habitation. Most residents remained fishermen in summer, but the new industry of sawmilling and a railway link in the 1890s quickly changed the character of the area.

## Life in Isolation

Before the nineteenth century "isolated" was not a term that could be properly applied to Newfoundland. The island's links with Europe and the other colonies of the new world were direct and vital to the economies of both. Hundreds of ships came each year to the northeast coast of the island, and many of the bays, including Bonavista Bay, maintained direct communications with foreign ports quite independently of St. John's.

> Any Newfoundlander with an itch to travel could go anywhere he wanted; our people knew more than most about life in a large number of foreign countries, and their cultural outlook was then shaped, not by rural isolation, but by knowledge of a very wide world indeed.[39]

But as Newfoundland entered the nineteenth century this situation changed. The change resulted from a combination of factors, the two most important being the rise of St. John's as the island's trading centre and the coming of steamships which could carry cargoes many times the size of those carried by sailing vessels. The districts outside St. John's and a few other ports on the Avalon Peninsula began a period of isolation not broken until quite recently. More isolated than most were the "outports" beyond Trinity Bay, where travel to even St. John's became a rare undertaking for many inhabitants.

Isolated as they were, though, they were not without some outside contact. The most important aspect of this without doubt was their place in the general scheme of the island's religious community. The establishment of a permanent religious base in Newfoundland can, in fact, be traced to Bonavista Bay, with the

arrival of Rev. Henry Jones at Bonavista in 1725.[40] It is not surprising therefore that within a few years of the permanent settling of Salvage the community became part of a Church of England mission and a church was erected.[41] The first missionaries to the area came, as had Jones, upon the initiative of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, a Church of England organization based in England which supported churches in foreign lands of the British Empire. It was the start of a continuously strong affiliation between the area and the Church of England (later Anglican), an affiliation that would spread to the other communities of the Eastport Peninsula as they were settled.

In other areas Methodism (later United Church) became an important influence. Again its roots in Bonavista Bay can be traced to Bonavista itself.[42] Because of the lack of Church of England missionaries willing to fill positions in eighteenth century Newfoundland, many places went for long periods without the services of clergymen. In 1784 during one such lapse, John Hoskins, the Methodist minister in the Trinity Bay community of Old Perlican, visited Bonavista. His visit was followed years later by that of another Methodist clergyman and eventually, in the early 1800s a number of residents, seeing that there was little hope of a permanent Church of England minister, sent a petition to the Methodist Missions in England requesting a missionary and promising financial support if one was able to come. Their request was granted and the year 1810 marked the arrival of the first resident Methodist clergyman. The migration of several Bonavista families into Goose Bay and Clode Sound later in the century thus resulted in the spread of Methodism to that area. Musgravetown and the surrounding area constituted a separate mission by 1872.[43]

In spite of the lack, at times, of clergymen to provide continuous ministration, the Church played a leading role in outport Newfoundland during the nineteenth century. The diaries of several visiting clergy provide us with some of our best accounts of life in Newfoundland at that time. Of particular interest within the framework of this study are the journals of Bishop Kelly written in 1870 and those of his predecessor, Bishop Feild, written about mid-century.[44] One can imagine the excitement caused by the approach of the church ship, "with her white sails and tapering masts, surrounded by various ensigns - above all the cross of St. George,"[45] carrying the Bishop who most likely had not paid a visit for several years and whose visit at the time might have been totally unexpected. Beside the obvious duties of confirmation and consecration, the Bishop often inspected the school, as did Bishop Feild when he visited Salvage in 1846.

This is a clear indication of the close association between the Church and education in Newfoundland, an association that continued through to the denominational education system of today. The establishment of schools in Newfoundland followed closely the establishment of churches. Salvage, for example, is said to have had a school by 1823,[46] and although this date is probably not accurate, there was certainly a school in operation by 1836. John Sainsburgh was appointed in November of that year and continued in that position for three years at a salary of £25 per annum.[47]

The Salvage school was established, as were a number of other Newfoundland schools during the second quarter of the nineteenth century, by the Newfoundland School Society, founded by Samuel Codner, a Newfoundland merchant who it is said made a promise to devote his life to humanitarian work if it was spared during a storm he experienced on a voyage to England. The Society, though supposedly nondenominational, was strongly Anglican in its outlook and its hiring practices. This resulted in intense criticism from the Methodist element in Newfoundland's population and led them to build schools for the sole use of their own followers. Bishop Kelly, during his visit to Musgravetown in 1870 reported that the Methodists already had a schoolmaster who held service on Sunday in the schoolroom.[48]

Schooling in the nineteenth century, regardless of denomination, was basic; rote exercises in reading, spelling, arithmetic and scripture study in an atmosphere of strict, sometimes cruel, discipline was the order of the day. Attendance was a problem since the older children took an active part in the fishery. The teacher, while subsisting on a low salary, was expected not only to instruct the children of the community, but to be the leader of the adults as well. He might well be the only formally educated person in the community and one of the duties expected of him was lay reading in the church during the many times the parish clergyman was not available.

Sunday seems to have been strictly observed as the day of rest and religious instruction that the clergy and lay readers taught it

should be. Sunday was no doubt welcomed as such because leisure time for the fishermen must have been at a premium. What celebrations there were centred upon religious holidays, the most important of which was Christmas. Celebration of Christmas, other than its religious observance, often incorporated the customs brought to the island by their West Country ancestors. The most colourful customs were "mummering" and the performance of the "mummers' play," two activities which took place continuously each night for the twelve days of Christmas, from St. Stephen's Day (December 26th) to Old Christmas Day (January 6th). Mummering involved dressing up in disguise and going from house to house dancing and singing and carousing. The performance of the mummers' play, a tradition that died out at the beginning of the present century, is worthy of special note.

The play, of which there are several variations, had its beginning in medieval England and is basically a simple, good-vs-evil story involving such diverse characters as King George, a Turkish Knight, Father Christmas, and the Wren. The performers, dressed in outlandish costumes of ribbons, masks, hats and clothes of all descriptions, and some further adorned with inflated pigs' bladders and swords, recited their rhyming parts in each house as they made their rounds. The highlight of the play was a wild mock fight and the appearance of the hobbyhorse, a gruesome representation of a horse with snapping jaws. The players for their efforts could be expected to be rewarded with sweetcake and a little rum, or something less substantial if the household was a poor one. The only remnant we have of this tradition in the local area is the text of one of the plays as recorded from memory in Salvage in 1950.[49] Christmas throughout the nineteenth century and well into the next remained as the one time of the year when work was put aside for an extended period and fun and relaxation took precedence.

Many aspects of life during the nineteenth century, it would seem, gave little cause for celebration. The outports had settled into a pattern of isolation and the government did not do much to relieve it. The people, it is true, probably demanded little and expected the same. One historian described it as follows:

> Until recently the government was neither expected nor was it in a financial position to provide much beyond the most minimal services for welfare, education, health or transportation. Each region was more or less expected to look after its own needs, the government's main function being to distribute relief in time of depression and patronage money during elections. Thus, except on the Avalon Peninsula...the government was of no great consequence... Inevitably...people regarded government as a means only of getting whatever money could be extorted for the needs of their own districts.[50]

Such a statement was certainly true for Bonavista Bay.

Medical services were minimal. In cases of extreme emergency the sick and injured had to be carried many miles to Greenspond or King's Cove to receive the attention of a doctor. Certain people within each community, though untrained, took it upon themselves to provide medical care. More often than not, the person whose remedies and methods of care received the greatest demands was the schoolteacher. His attention was often directed towards cases of measles, scarlet fever and diphtheria which were common then. Folk remedies abounded. Today we look with curiosity and amusement upon such cures but, nevertheless, they seemed to have had some medical value. Trained doctors or nurses were uncommon in the area until recent times. The first resident doctor on the Eastport Peninsula did not arrive, for example, until 1897.

The transportation options changed little until the last decade of the century. The traditional mode of travel was, of course, the boat. With all the centres of population bordering the sea, the only time that other transportation methods offered a noted advantage to the residents was during the occasions that winter ice blocked the harbours. This was probably the major reason for the slowness of road construction. Although road commission boards were established across the island in the early 1800s, they did little except oversee the building of makeshift roads within communities and between adjacent ones. A road from Salvage to Salvage Bay (Eastport), for example, was opened by James Burden, the road commissioner not long after Salvage Bay became permanently settled in 1868.[51] The labourers on that road (who were paid 50¢ per day) must have worked with simple hand carts, shovels and wheelbarrows. Such was the lack of progress in road construction throughout

the island that one noted observer was led to comment in 1894:

> ....these roads only connected the fishing towns and settlements on the coast, and had little effect in opening up the good lands of the interior for colonization or in developing the natural resources of the island. ....Must the interior remain forever an unpeopled solitude when so many of the population were finding the products of the fisheries inadequate to give them daily bread?....[52]

Indeed, it was another half century before roads aided the opening up of the island's interior. It was railroad construction rather than road construction that came to play an important part in that aspect of the island's development.

By 1892 a railroad to link St. John's in the east with Port-aux-Basques in the west had progressed as far as Hall's Bay. Clode Sound (Port Blandford), Terra Nova and Alexander Bay became stations and the connecting points for southern Bonavista Bay. The introduction of the railway changed the face of communications in the area. The people now had access to overland routes across the island. In 1898 for $3.40 they could travel the 154 miles from Port Blandford to St. John's over the narrow gauge railway built by Reid Newfoundland.[53] The railway also brought about a marked improvement in mail delivery.

A postal service for Newfoundland was initiated in 1805. Mail delivery to Bonavista Bay during much of the nineteenth century was carried out fortnightly by boat touching at Bonavista, Salvage and Greenspond, with courier connections between these points and the remaining communities of the bay. In winter delivery was sporadic, although records show an overland delivery system of sorts was in operation before the completion of the railroad. During the century a telegraph system also came into operation although it must have been impractical for most residents since the nearest telegraph station was at King's Cove until the building of the railway stations.

Extensive travel by boat to avail of government services was indeed commonplace, the administration of justice being a further example. The judicial system in Newfoundland that evolved in the wake of the old Fishing Admiral System had not become visible in Bonavista Bay even by the early 1800s. Clear evidence of this fact is the petition sent by residents to the Newfoundland House of Assembly in 1834.

> A Petition of John Skelton and others, inhabitants of Bonavista Bay, was presented by Mr. Row, and the same was received and read, setting forth, that the inhabitants of the said Bay are in a deplorable state as regards the administration of Justice, the protection of property, and the comfort and security of individuals. That throughout the whole of the said Bay, in which there are numerous settlements, and several thousands of souls, there is not a single gaol or place of confinement for offenders, not a single Magistrate, no means whatever for the correction of offenders, or the protection of the peaceable and well-disposed, with the exception of a single Conservator of the Peace at Bonavista, who has no adequate means of enforcing the very limited powers with which he is invested. Consequently each well disposed and peaceable Member of Society is quite at the mercy of lawless and evil-minded persons, who, taking advantage of this lamentable state of things, work mischief and wrong with impunity, and that recent numerous outrages have been committed in the said Bay.[54]

The petition must have been acted upon in years subsequent to its presentation because government records of 1859 list constables at Tickle Cove, King's Cove, Salvage and Greenspond in addition to the justice of the peace and jail at Bonavista.[55] Later Salvage received its own justice of the peace and a circuit court was operated each year at Bonavista and Greenspond.[56] The jail at Bonavista was used for short periods of confinement. Criminals given lengthy sentences were sent to either Harbour Grace or St. John's to serve their terms.

## Cartographic Survey - Part IV

The maps of the late eighteenth century had given us the first accurate representation of Bonavista Bay. The nineteenth century maps improved on this on two fronts. Firstly, they showed a greater amount of detail for the coastline, including the addition of many more

**Figure 13. Detail from "A New Chart of Newfoundland and Coast of Labrador extending to Sandwich Bay," R. Blanchford and Company, 1838. (Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's)**

place-names; and secondly, and perhaps more important, they extended their representations beyond the coastline and depicted the interior for the first time.

Blanchford's 1838 map (Fig. 13) is clearly indicative of the advance in recording the names of the numerous indentations of the bay. Mariners at this time were using "Bullock's large chart" to which Jukes referred in the record of his 1840 survey of the island.[57] Although he termed it "minutely accurate," it must have been easily surpassed by the charts published by the British Admiralty in the 1860s and 1870s (Fig. 14) following their detailed surveys of the island's coast. These charts remain standard marine references, in wide use today with only minor corrections since first published.

Page's "Hand Map of Newfoundland" of 1860 (Fig. 15) may have been based partly on the surveys of Jukes, as well as those conducted during his own term as surveyor for the gov-

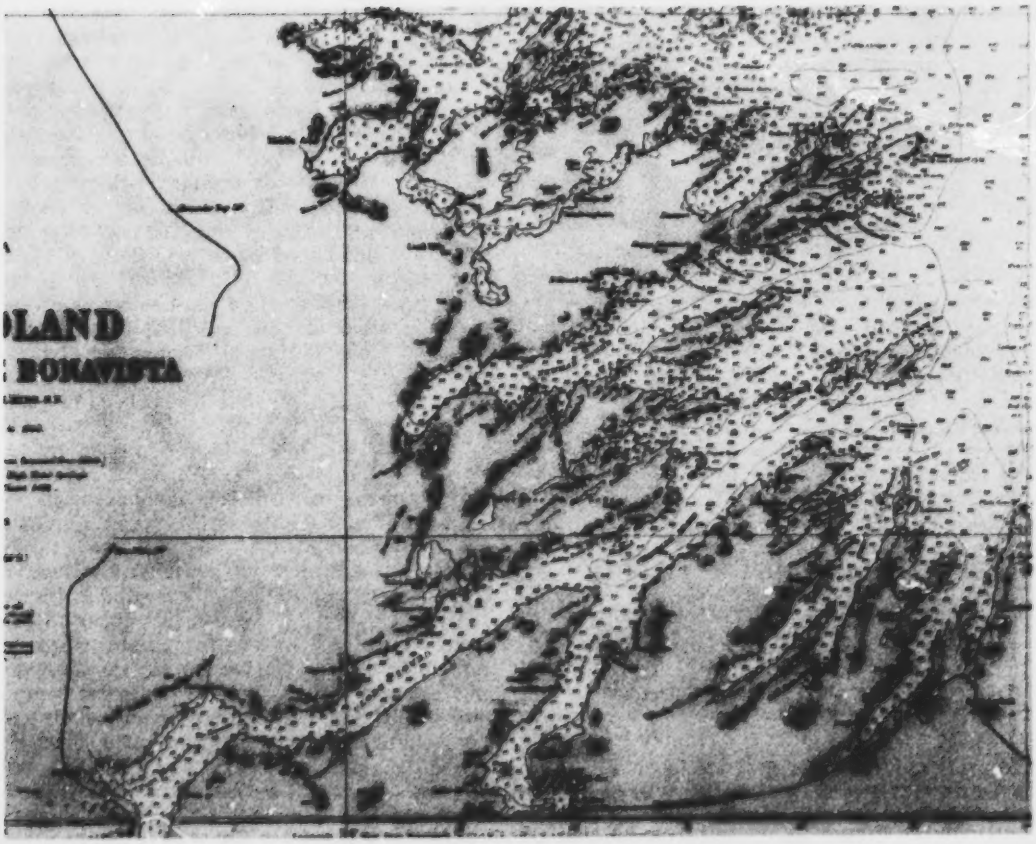


Figure 14. Detail from "North America: East Coast of Newfoundland, Gander Bay to Cape Bonavista," J.H. Kerr, British Admiralty Chart, 1873; revised version.

Figure 15. Detail from "A Hand Map of the Island of Newfoundland," Frederick Page, 1860. (Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's)

ernment. It showed a tremendous improvement in knowledge of the island's interior. This was followed within two decades by an even greater advance, as a result of the numerous surveys carried out by James P. Howley and Alexander Murray. The map of 1879 (Fig. 16) is one of several large and detailed maps they produced during the years of their terms as geological surveyors for the government. Much of their work was done in anticipation of finding mineral deposits that might prove to be commercially viable. None were recovered in the area (although prospectors had done work at Pitt's Sound Island and the mouth of Terra Nova Brook[58]), yet the maps produced proved invaluable for many years. If any exploitation of the interior resources was to be undertaken, by the latter part of the century knowlege of the interior was available as a basis on which to begin.

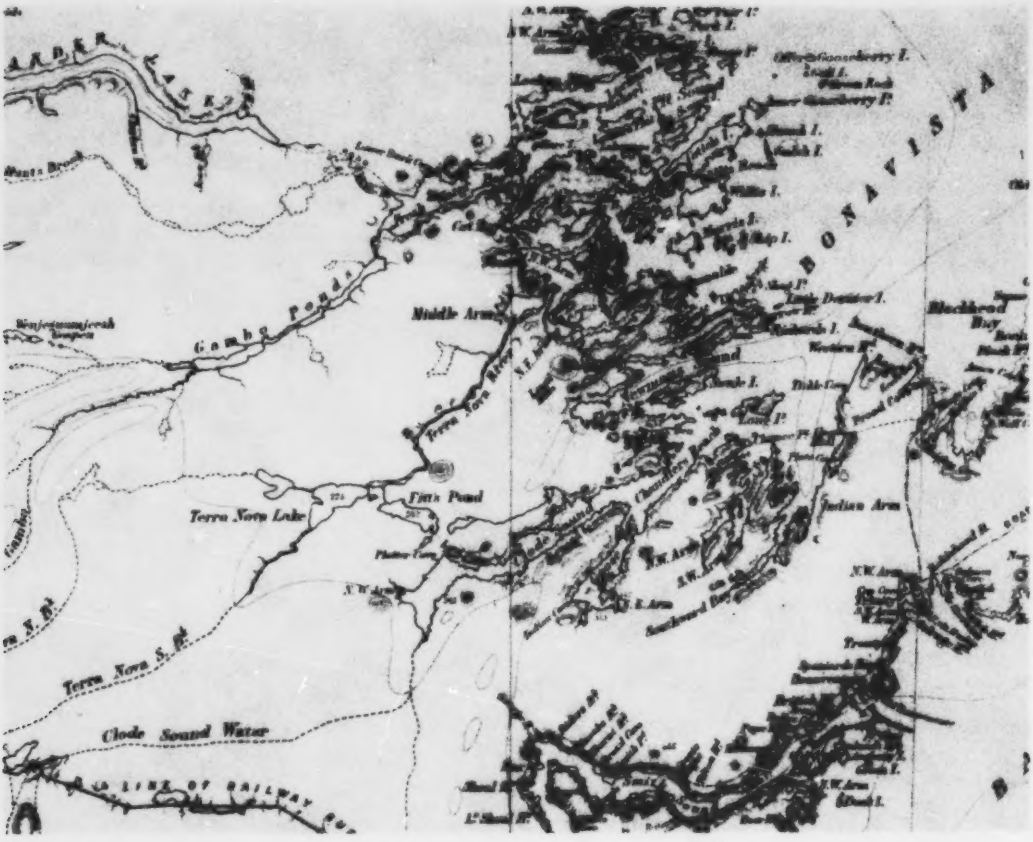


Figure 16. Detail from "Newfoundland," James Howley and Alexander Murray, 1879. (Arts and Culture Centre Library, St. John's)

## THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

When the surveyor J.B. Jukes ascended the Louil Hills at the western end of the park in 1840 he lauded the beautiful view of Clode Sound, Newman's Sound and the numerous hills beyond them, all the islands filling Bonavista Bay to the north, a great extent of undulating ground towards the west, and the lovely view of Troy.[1] If he could have ascended the same hills 100 years later he would have marvelled at the difference. The view was equally impressive, but substantially less tranquil. In the interior, beyond the waters of Clode and Newman sounds, a flurry of woodcutting and sawmilling was in progress, on the bay itself sailed schooners for the Laborador fishery, a railway passed close by, and surrounding him was not wilderness, but the busy communities of Glovertown, Traytown, Sandringham and Eastport. Even on the hill itself he would not have been alone; he would have had to share the view with a fire tower attendant. The nineteenth century had brought the permanent settlers to the shoreline; the twentieth century had seen them expand into the interior.

### The Home and the Community

Most of the people who had come to the area under study in the nineteenth century had

come to stay. In the communities that evolved were the well-built homes of permanent residents. The homes of this type, in conjunction with the nearby landing stages, flakes and sheds, led one learned writer in 1950 to comment:

> Skilled craftmanship of ancient origin, grace and delicacy of structure, the pattern of trellised roofs, the gaiety of shadows and complete lack of sophistication give this primitive architecture a charm that distinguishes it from any similar buildings in other lands. This is an architecture that comes from the soil and is married to the sea. I should not be surprised if Mr. Frank Lloyd Wright were to doff his cap in the presence of such humble evidence of man's ingenuity and genius.[2]

Humble dwellings, yet they were the essence of "functionalism." Little research has been done on the folk architecture of Bonavista Bay, but investigations into the folk architecture of the adjacent Trinity Bay would seem to shed some light on its evolution.[3] As in Bonavista Bay the majority of permanent settlers were West Country Englishmen who arrived in the early 1800s. In Trinity Bay the architectural sequence consisted of small, one- or two-room cottages (1835-1910), one and a half storey saltboxes (1865-1920), modified saltboxes (1890-1935), and flat roof two-storey houses (1870-1960). The homes were, of course, of wood construction (spruce or fir), and utilitarian in design. Embellishments such as bay windows, verandas and off-set front doors were generally twentieth century additions to the homes of the more well-to-do families.

The people took equal, if not greater, pride in the construction of their churches. By 1921 a total of thirteen churches of three different denominations (Church of England, Methodist and Salvation Army) were in use in the area.[4] Some were built to serve large congregations of adjoining communities, such as the 700-seat Holy Cross Church in Eastport, others to serve small congregations in individual communities. The church strengthened its role in all the settlements in the area as full-time, resident ministers became more common. The annual suppers and sales sponsored by the women's church organizations became social highlights of the year. Other organizations, including the Society of United Fishermen, The Church Lads Brigade, and The Loyal Orange Association, came into being around the turn of the century. These groups became dominant contributors to the religious and social life of the communities they served.

Educational opportunities advanced, although the conditions under which teachers worked still were inadequate. One- to three-room schools (generally a separate school for each denomination), with several grades in each classroom, were common. Significant progress in education came after 1949 when Confederation put the island on a firmer financial base. Eventually the Protestant school administrations united to form "amalgamated" and then "integrated" school boards which brought the various school populations together under the one school system and eliminated much of the duplication of services which had previously taken place.

The railway, as mentioned in the previous chapter, was one of the government's few contributions towards improving its services to the area. Road construction remained grossly inadequate in terms of forming major transportation links. During the first decades of this century new road construction projects were confined mostly to the Avalon Peninsula, and what money was made available to areas outside the peninsula was often only small amounts given as a form of relief during times of economic depression. The upgrading of roads within communities and between the settlements and the railway stations were the only significant improvements up to the time that post-Confederation construction programs produced a trans-island highway.

The people continued to rely heavily on transportation by boat. During the first two decades the S.S. *Dundee* one of a fleet of eight coastal steamers, serviced Bonavista Bay. It made two stops per week in each of twenty ports in the bay, connecting with the railroad and the other steamers.[5] For many years the *Dundee* was captained by Darius Blandford (from whom the community of Port Blandford derived its name). In 1918 the terminal point was changed from Point Blandford to Port Union in Trinity Bay. This so outraged the populace of Bonavista Bay that they promptly petitioned the House of Assembly for a reversal of the decision.[6] It appears that no action had to be taken because in 1919 the *Dundee*, was lost on Grassy Island near Gander Bay. In the years subsequent to the loss the ship was replaced and the coastal service continued as a vital transportation and communications link. The last of the coastal

steamers to service the bay was the S.S. *Bonavista* which ceased operation in the early 1960s.

The coastal boat service provided mail delivery, at times in addition to a regular mail boat which plied the coastline, visiting every community. In winter, when the boats could not run, the railway stations were the connecting points for couriers who travelled by foot or, if there was sufficient ice and snow, by dogteam. A ninety-two-year-old resident of Happy Adventure recalls:

> I can mind when the first post office come here. Jimmy Handcock, he was Liberal, he'd have the post office, and the Turners, when the government'd go Tory, then they'd have the post office. ...And I can mind when the first mail come here. Old John Stroud from Alexander Bay, he'd come and turn the corner there...and he had a fog horn and he'd blow the old horn to let the people know the mail was come. He might have a letter for Jimmy Handcock and he might have one for Abram Turner. That's all he had now, to come from Alexander Bay.[7]

The number of trained medical personnel remained insufficient to fill the needs of the area. In 1921 for example, only three doctors (one each at Angle Brook in Glovertown, Salvage and Brooklyn) were available to service the scattered population,[8] and when Dr. MacDonald of Salvage retired later in the decade no one was found to replace him.[9] At intervals nurses (some sponsored by The Newfoundland Outport Nursing and Industrial Association, a group formed by concerned citizens in St. John's) were stationed in a number of places in the area,[10] but generally the people had to rely on whichever local person was willing to take on the responsibility of caring for the sick. Mrs. Irene Bradley was one who courageously shouldered that responsibility for the people of Eastport Peninsula in the 1940s:

> The few years I lived in Sandringham I was sort of a master of all trades. I delivered 151 babies for the people. I bound all the cuts and burns and limbs and everything like that. If anyone had any illness they came to me. I don't know what kind of job I did, but I did it the best way I knew how. I got a first aid book and I studied first aid and I got a book on obstetrics and I studied it. I delivered their babies when there was no way to get to Gander Hospital. The road was bad going to the train (no highway or anything), so sometimes I had to go to Burnside, sometimes to Eastport, sometimes to Happy Adventure.[11]

The medical situation was most difficult in winter when ice and snow storms could prevent emergency cases from being brought to a doctor. It is only within the past twenty years that more resident doctors and better transportation links have brought the medical service up to an acceptable standard.

Many of the services taken for granted in the more economically stable parts of Canada were still unknown luxuries in the area, even after the time of the establishment of the park. Electricity, for example, was not provided before the 1960s (Eastport and Sandringham received electricity in 1963), although residents operated diesel-powered lighting plants for their home use before that time. Telephone connections have become commonplace only in relatively recent times.

The people had learned over the years to rely more on their own hard work and resourcefulness than on programs or services initiated by their elected representatives in government:

> Them days, the people...never got no handouts from the goverment. They all got their living by the gun on their back and their boat out fishing.[12]

So recalls William Penney, eighty-seven, of Canning's Cove about the life that he once knew. Times were hard (an old age pensioner, for example, received only $12 for a three-month period), but not desperate by any means. Through the years after initial settlement the people had evolved an independent lifestyle. The sea was their most important ally, providing not only fish, but sea birds (turrs, puffins, ducks, etc.) and sea mammals such as seals. The land offered rabbits, partridge, beaver, and other game, and numerous varieties of berries, all free for the taking.

Where the soil proved sufficient for farming, it was carefully fenced, planted and worked to bring forth a variety of hardy vegetables, such as potatoes, turnips and cabbage. Other land was left for fruit trees or for growing hay as food for livestock:

> We raised sheep, pigs, and goats (for milk). It was not too hard, we didn't think it was

too hard, because we was use to it, we grew up with it....You'd take your buckets and you'd carry your caplin, or whatever you was goin' to put on. You wouldn't have to use no fertilize, it was caplin mostly, and stable manure - that's the most things they use to use in my younger days, and the people before me. ... Potatoes, cabbage, turnips, carrots, parsnips - what people could raise vegetables did, those who had space enough. ...I can remember when all around here was under fence, every inch I spose without 'twas the road. ...And there wouldn't be a blade of grass spring up over the earth, but what was cut down and stored and harvested for the winter.[13]

In this community (Salvage) thin, rocky soil made farming a restricted undertaking. In other areas the soil proved much more conducive to agriculture. The communities in Clode Sound and Goose Bay had, on the whole, more land given over to farming than those to the west, with the exception of Eastport which was settled initially as a farming centre. An increase in the number of acres under cultivation coincided in many places with the decline of the Labrador fishery, as men turned from an unprofitable fishery to try their hands at farming. Many made the venture a successful one, further evidence of the adaptability of a people who relied solely on the natural environment for their livelihood. In Eastport, for example, farming became the economic base of the community and a source of pride as witnessed by the annual Agricultural Exhibitions which were staged from 1936 to 1949. And Sandringham, the only community in the area settled during the twentieth century, began as part of the government's agricultural land settlement program in the early 1940s. Families from Salvage, Pool's Island, Flat Island and several other places came there and turned what was uninhabited forest into a viable community.

## The Fishery

The Labrador fishery begun in Bonavista Bay in the nineteenth century continued as the mainstay of the bay's economy for the early decades of the twentieth century. Most of the communities in the area, with the exception of Terra Nova and Port Blandford, had substantial numbers of men employed in the Labrador fishery. In some others, especially those in Goose Bay and Clode Sound, sawmilling gained an equal importance, and as the fishery declined, quickly surpassed it. The fishery has changed little over the years. The average schooner size did increase (from 20 to 40 tons to 60, 70 and up to 100 tons in the later years) and sail schooners gradually gave way to a combination sail and engine or engine exclusively (in the late 1930s and early 1940s),[14] but the basic methods of procuring and drying the fish remained the same.

Most of the schooners had been built with the backing of one of the St. John's merchants (Job's, Bowring's, Baird's, Hickman's, etc.) using local timber and men. The person who had the vessel built agreed to pay off a portion of the debt each year, depending on the success of the voyage. Eventually, with a number of consecutively good years, he might be able to erase the debt and become an independent owner. The merchant also supplied the provisions necessary for the undertaking of the voyage and each May, before leaving for the Labrador coast, a trip into St. John's was made to secure them.

The trip to the fishing grounds generally took a week or more, depending on the sailing conditions. More than forty schooners left from each of the larger centres (such as Salvage and Musgravetown) and an estimated ten to fifteen from some of the smaller ones (such as Charlottetown and Happy Adventure). Each had one motorboat in tow and some had another hoisted on deck. These were to be used for the fishing itself but in periods of calm weather they could be seen ahead of the sailing vessels, towing them. Icebergs in darkness or fog presented serious hazards, and for that reason the skippers usually tried to get to a safe harbour by nightfall.

Groswater Bay, Cut Throat Island, Mugford Tickle - the Labrador coastal names became common to the fisherman's vocabulary, as did the names of the individual cod trap berths - Pot of Gold, Crack in the Wall, Golden Slipper.[15] During a good summer's fishing the crew of a 35-ton schooner could expect to catch, split and salt more than 600 quintals. Figures 18 and 19 picture several Bonavista Bay schooners anchored off Long Island on the Labrador coast about 1938.

The return voyage began in late August or September. During September and October the home communities would be lined with flakes supporting thousands of drying cod.

Often the loads were divided among various families who were responsible for curing it at a fixed price per quintal. Within weeks it was again loaded aboard the vessel for the trip to St. John's. The wharf at which the schooner arrived when it reached the city must have been a fascinating place (Fig. 20). Twenty-five or more wharfs jutted out from the land, each long enough to take three or four 100-foot schooners on each side. So busy was the waterfront that schooners would often have to wait in line for a place to unload their fish. A culler, employed by the merchant, inspected each individual fish as it was unloaded. He placed each in a pile depending on the quality of the product, and when a pile of 224 pounds (two quintals) was amassed it was carried by hand barrel (or trolley) to the merchants' stores. Sometimes arguments arose as the skipper questioned the accuracy of the culler's decisions, because, of course, the higher the quality of the fish, the higher the price that would be paid for it.[16] The price per quintal varied from year to year, from a low of $1.00 to $1.50 during the Depression to more than $2.50 in others. Compared to today's wages, a summer's work netted very little. The skipper took half the shares of the voyages (for he was in debt to the merchant for the cost of the vessel and its outfitting) plus one additional share, and the remainder was divided among the crew.

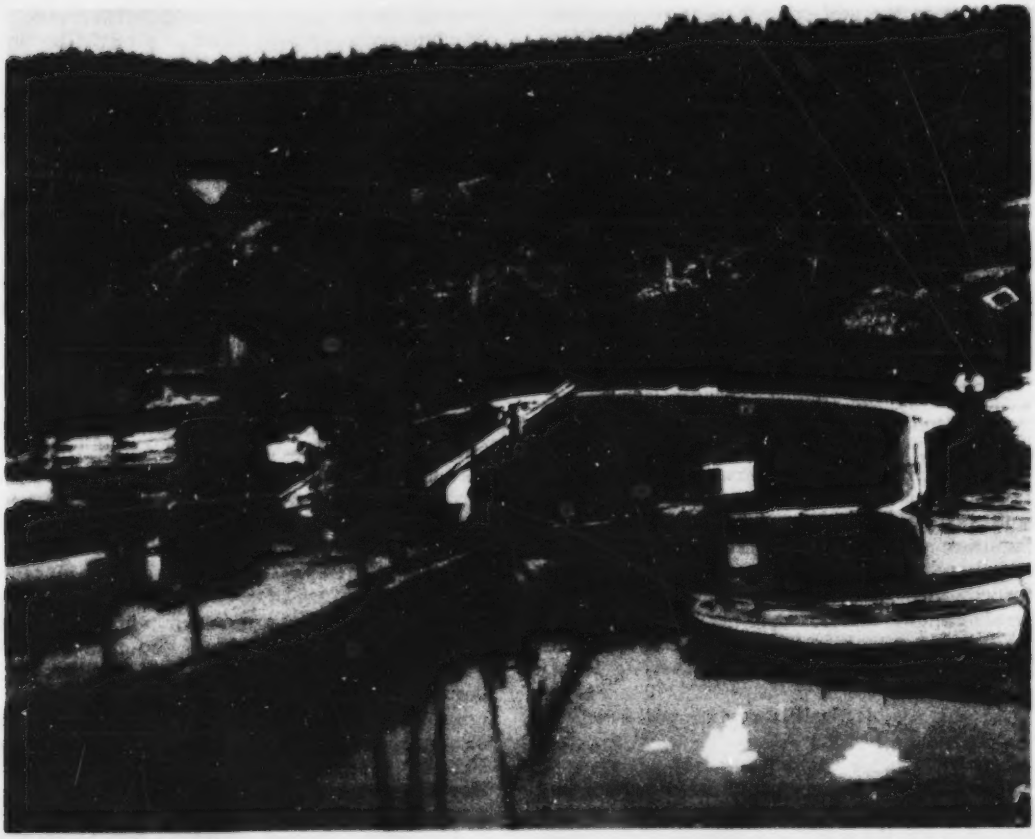

Figure 17. *Miss Turner*, schooner built and owned by Harvey Turner, being scraped and painted in preparation for Labrador fishery. Picture taken in Happy Adventure, May 1939. (Harvey Turner, Happy Adventure)

The Labrador fishery had started a downward trend early in the twentieth century. Factors contributing to its decline included the loss of the traditional markets and a trend towards fresh fish production. With the new employment opportunities that arose on the island during World War II (especially the establishment of a number of American naval and air force bases) fewer men were willing to risk low profits in an uncertain fishery. The year 1954 marked the end of a 200-year-old tradition.[17]

The Labrador fishery, though by far the most important, was not the only fishery in evidence during the first half of the century. A substantial inshore lobster fishery had developed over the years. In 1921, for example, a total of seventeen small lobster canning factories were in operation in the area.[18] The old method of procuring lobsters was simply to hook them off the bottom with a long, fifteen-to-eighteen-foot pole. Punt loads were often gathered by this method, although prices of one cent each did not make the venture as profitable as might first be imagined.[19] The hooking was sometimes done at night with the aid of birch bark torches positioned at the head of the boat. The lobster trap became commonplace in time, partly because their lower numbers had made the lobsters harder to catch, and this method, of course, continues today. The lobster factories are long gone; with the advent of reliable transportation links, the product can now be taken alive to market.

The processing of herring (salted and packed in barrels) was also a common secondary source of income, as was the processing of squid in some places. Charlottetown boasted a factory for drying squid at one time, an operation conducted by Baxter Haley. And, of course, the ever-present cod sustained an inshore fishery both during and after the years of the Labrador fishery.

The traditional method of catching cod inshore was with the handline - a single baited hook with a lead weight a short distance from the hook. Two of these could be worked by one man. A variation of this, the "dabber," in which the hook passed through the lead, was also used. Baited with capelin, the dabber was particularly useful when the schools of cod neared the surface following the inshore movement of capelin. Cod nets formed part of the fisherman's gear in the previous century but seem to have been of limited use because of the nature of the twine with which it was made.

The cod trap, in wide use in the Laborador fishery, also came to be the dominant gear of the inshore fishery. Unlike the cod net, which consists of a single straight net, the cod trap opens into a box-like affair in which the fish, although trapped, do not necessarily get entangled in the meshes. The cod seine was also used, but to a lesser extent.

Figure 18. Schooners at Long Island Harbour, Labrador, ca. 1938.
(Harvey Turner, Happy Adventure)

Trawls, varying from 200 to 600 fathoms long, with hooks on the end of "suds-lines," still play an important role in the inshore fishery. Baited, generally with squid (because of their tougher nature), a trawl line is usually worked by two men in an open boat. The long-liners of today (a craft of thirty feet or more) make use of cod traps and gill nets (the same principal as the old cod nets, only constructed of fiber that deteriorates little in saltwater).

The evolution of the inshore fishing boat from sail-powered to engine-powered was probably slow compared to that in other, more economically stable parts of North America. The first motorboat appeared in Salvage in 1907.[20] The motorboat replaced the nineteenth century spritsail "bully boat," a thirty- to forty-foot craft. These motorboats are a common sight today, although the speedboat with its outboard engine has now found wider use among lobster and small-scale fishermen.

The killing of seals, the most dramatic of fisheries, continued through the decades of this century. The coming of the spring seal hunt for years saw many Bonavista Bay men preparing for the trip to St. John's and walking with their gear to the nearest train station. They sailed aboard the *Eagle*, the *Neptune*, the *Bloodhound*, the *Imogene* and others.[21] They suffered the hardships of overcrowded vessels and bitterly cold winds, often for less than $100 per man after the profits were assessed. For others the seal hunt meant voyaging from home to a few miles from shore as their ancestors had done, in hopes of getting within shot range of the scattered seals who came with the ice as it drifted past the bay. Both aspects of the seal fishery continue today, although the "ice-hunting" by large vessels is done on a much reduced scale.

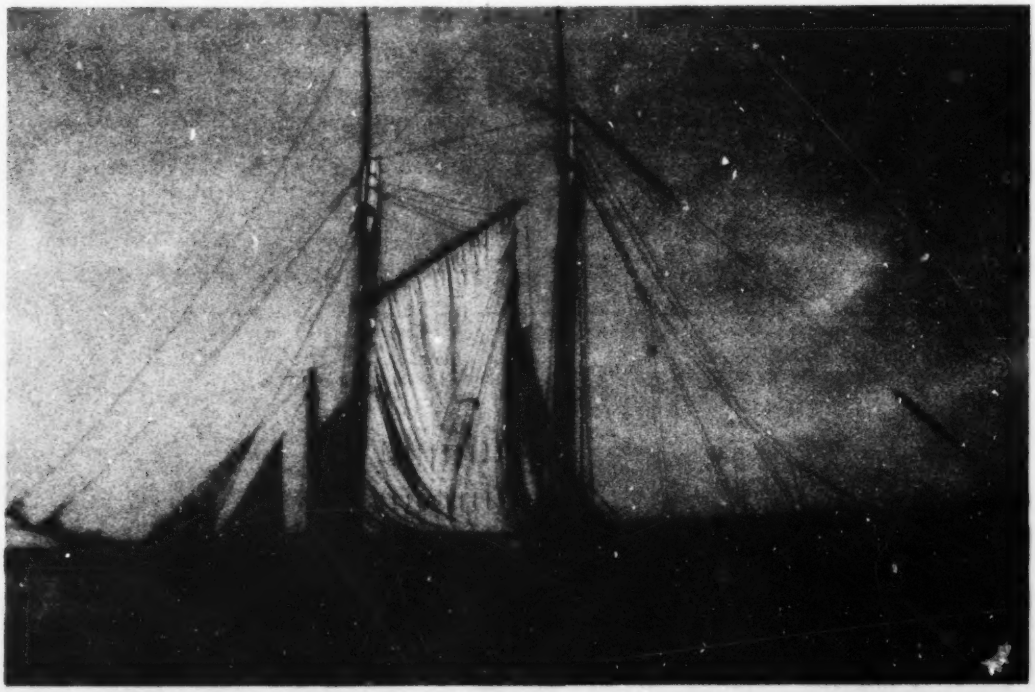

Figure 19. *Vera B. Humby* (ca. 90 tons) at Long Island Harbour, Labrador, ca. 1938. The picture was taken on Sunday when men were not working. Note the puncheons for cod livers. This schooner was built in Summerville, Bonavista Bay. (Harvey Turner, Happy Adventure)

Figure 20. The premises of G.M. Barr, St. John's, early 1900s. Note the dried cod being separated and weighed according to quality. (Original unknown)

## The Woods Work

The great land resource of the area under study is, of course, its wood. It is a resource that has been exploited throughout its history, from the time of native occupancy, through the years of its exploration and intermittent settlement to the time that residents have permanently inhabited its shores. The wood has traditionally been used to build homes, churches and schools and to heat them; it has provided the material for fishing sheds, stages, flakes and boats of all sizes.

The twentieth century saw the greatest use of this wood resource, as the forest industries gained a firm position in the economy of the island. Commercial wood-cutting and logging operations abounded, with the products finding markets both within Newfoundland and in foreign countries. This section of the report will attempt to summarize these woods activities to the time of the establishment of the park just past mid-century.

### Alexander Bay[22]

The Glovertown-Traytown area was first settled on the basis of a salmon fishery. Later the cod fishery, both inshore and Labrador, increased the population, but the rise of lumbering at the end of the last century, and especially at the beginning of the latest one, was responsible for the most significant increase. By the 1890s lumbering had grown in importance to rival the fishery and was gathering the momentum that would eventually see it dominate the economy.

The cutting of pitprop on the south side of the Terra Nova River had begun around the turn of the century, with much of the wood being shipped to England, especially at the time of the Boer War.[23] By 1921 there were a total of nineteen sawmills in the local area.[24] This boom, however, was not without its price. In July 1913 the explosion of a steam boiler at a Rosedale sawmill killed six people, including the owner, Alex Rose. The boiler, corroded and patched many times, had previously been

condemned by a government inspector and was operating without a licence.[25]

The logging activity reached a peak in the early 1920s with the arrival of a Norwegian group, the Terra Nova Sulphite Company, which began work on the construction of a pulp and sulphite mill.[26] Several land purchases were made and in 1921 the firm signed an agreement with the Newfoundland government, obtaining timber rights in the vicinity of the Terra Nova River and the right to develop hydroelectric power (Fig. 21). Construction of the mill began in earnest on Angle Brook Island, near the mouth of the river, as well as staff houses, a medical centre and a school (Fig. 22).

By 1922 the construction was well advanced and the machinery on hand for installation. Piers had been laid for a wharf and 1300 cords of wood had been cut and delivered to the site for the proposed test operations. With so many men working, the future of the Alexander Bay area looked very promising. In that same year, however, disaster struck. The financial backing of the company collapsed and work came to a sudden halt. The collapse was attributed to the fact that the assets of the company were in Norwegian currency which failed to remain stable.

A citizen delegation from Alexander Bay, armed with petitions from the voters of Glovertown, Traytown, Salvage, Salvage Bay and other nearby communities approached the government in St. John's requesting help for the financially troubled project.[27] None was forthcoming and the Terra Nova Sulphite Company declared bankruptcy. Eventually its holdings and the partially completed mill were sold to the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company (owners of the paper mill in Grand Falls) for $2 million. Construction of the mill never did resume and the concrete shell stands today as a reminder of an industry that could have changed the face of Alexander Bay had it gone into operation. Despite the fact that the A.N.D. Company did carry on some logging in the timber areas they acquired, Alexander Bay went into a period of economic slump, worsened by the coming of a worldwide depression.

One bright note in the 1930s was the continuing of the pitprop-cutting operations undertaken by the firm of Louis Briffett and Company. From 1932 to 1936 cutting took place along the shoreline of Southwest Arm, in an area now encompassed by the park.[28] The Newfoundland government had made an agreement with the Government of Britain for the shipping of pitprop (for use in the mines of Wales) in exchange for coal to run the Newfoundland Railway. Large ships regularly arrived in Alexander Bay for loading, sometimes then proceeding to Clode Sound for the products of the Pelley pitprop operation which was taking place there.

The 1930s and the early 1940s saw a major recovery of an economy crippled by the bankruptcy of the Terra Nova Sulphite Company. An increase in lumbering activity injected new life into the area. The products of numerous sawmills were being shipped either by rail at Alexander Bay Station or by local schooners. A price of $18 per thousand for no. 1 matched lumber was being obtained in St. John's.[29] Secondary industries such as shipbuilding also provided employment for the residents. But again the area was struck a severe blow when in 1946 a fire raged through Glovertown and destroyed much of the surrounding timberlands. The sawmill operations never again regained the importance they once knew.

### Newman Sound

Newman Sound's first sawmill was probably in use in the late 1890s or the first years of the twentieth century. Several graves in Minchin's Cove are reminders of the occupancy of the site at that time.[30] Another mill was in operation in the Big Brook area before World War I.[31] But it was the mill begun by Thomas Turner at Salton's Brook, the one begun by the Lanes at Big Brook, the King operation in Minchin's Cove, and the various pitprop-cutting activities that were the longest lasting and the most significant enterprises undertaken before the establishment of the park in 1957. The work reached a peak during the second quarter of the century, drawing individuals from all over the Eastport Peninsula and at times from as far away as Catalina.

Thomas Turner was a merchant and mill owner in Happy Adventure who began a mill at Salton's Brook about 1915.[32] A gasoline engine and a thirty-foot cable-drawn carriage were imported from the United States. It was a heavy stationary engine (the flywheels measured 5 ft in diameter and weighed over 500 lb each) that saw intense use for the next thirty years, operating the saws and planers that cut railway ties, boat plank, and lumber for local consumption and for shipment to St. John's and Conception Bay. In addition, from time to time the Turners (Thomas and his sons) were

under contract to Bowring's, merchants in St. John's, for the supply of pitprop. With big orders, the sound became dotted with winter camps as families from Bonavista, Keels and Catalina, in addition to the local workers, would be employed to meet the demand.

Wood was being cut (using bucksaw and ax) from North Broad Cove right around to Hurloc Head, with the concentration of activity in the inner part of the sound. Horses and oxen were harnessed to haul the wood to the waterline where it would be boomed and towed to the nearest cove to await loading aboard overseas steamers. Often the contract would require the wood to be "rinded" (bark removed) and this was done by hand. Some groups would be able to cut more than 100 cords, while others, if it was only a man and his boy for example, might cut only fifteen to twenty cords. The cutting was a winter operation but a substantial number were employed for the loading process which often lasted most of the summer. A pitprop enterprise was being undertaken concurrently by John Squire of Eastport, who held contracts similar to those of Turner.

For their lumber operation the Turners cut mostly in the Big Brook area, and boomed it to the mill at Salton's when the ice broke up in

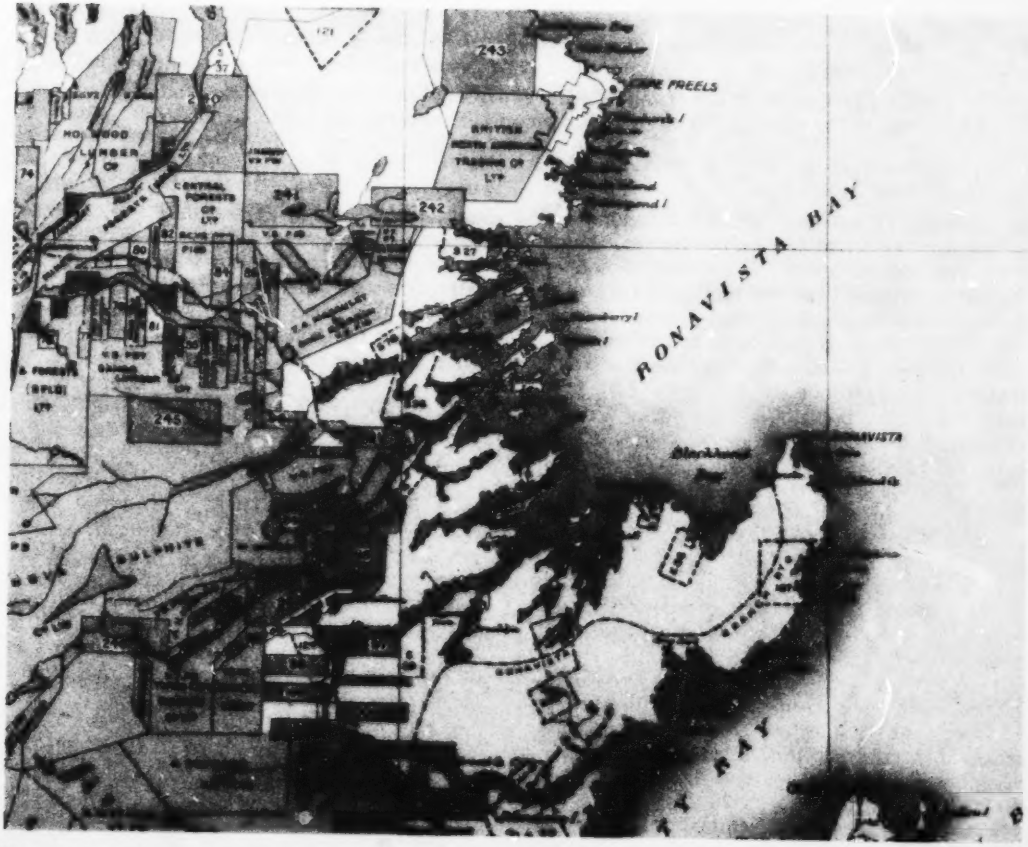


Figure 21. Detail from "Map of Newfoundland," Department of Mines and Agriculture, 1924. Numbered areas shaded by diagonal lines indicate land grants to Reid Newfoundland Company. Other shaded areas indicate timber limits under lease. Broken lines indicate "sections within the boundaries of which mining locations may be applied for without staking." (Arts and Culture Centre Library, St. John's)

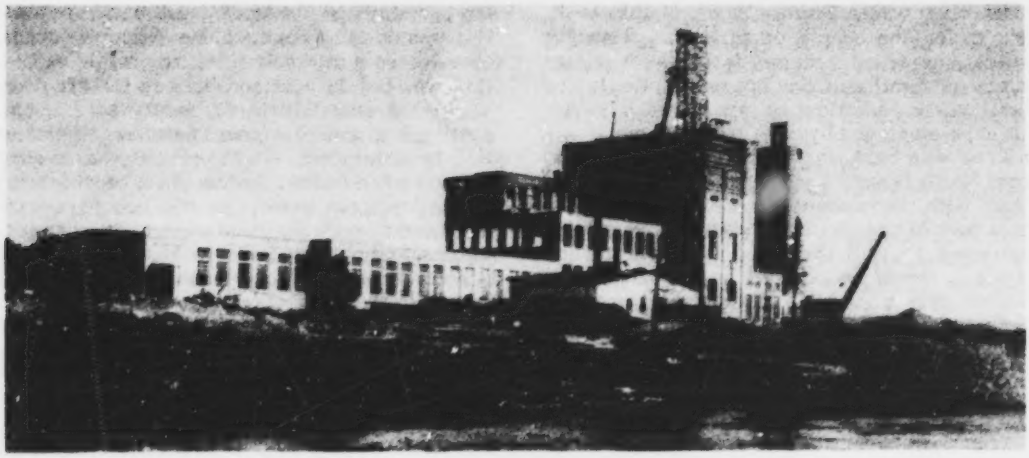

Figure 22. Construction of mill at Glovertown by Terra Nova Sulphite Company, ca. 1921. (Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador, St. John's)

the spring. The saws buzzed all summer, cutting lumber up to ten by ten inches. Much of it was loaded aboard their own schooner (run by Art Turner) for the trip to the markets of the Avalon Peninsula. When Thomas Turner died in 1937 his sons continued to run the mill. Later (in the 1940s) other individuals were employed to continue it but they failed to make it a viable operation and by the time of the establishment of the park the mill had been shut down for several years.

The Lane mill in the Big Brook area (Upper Sandy Point) dates from the late 1920s.[33] The mill was owned initially by Walter Squire of Bell Island who had hired Garland Turner, George Hubert Lane and his cousin Caleb Lane to build and run it. The main work in the beginning years was supplying railway ties and seventeen-foot sticks for the iron mines of Bell Island in Conception Bay. Eventually George Hubert Lane owned the mill and it branched out into other products, especially lumber for construction, some of which was transported to St. John's and sold to the firm of Chester Dawe. Figures 23-25 indicate the type of operation they were conducting.

Most of the cutting was done in the vicinity of Big Brook and sometimes the logs were driven down the Brook itself. Work was with oxen and horses which would pull perhaps thirty to thirty-five sawlogs per load. At the mouth of the Brook the logs would be held in booms until landed at the mill site. There a semi-diesel engine (started on gas, run on kerosene) powered the saws and planers. The mill continued operating until the establishment of the park; the mill in fact provided lumber for the construction of the park compound that was built in the late 1950s.

During the thirty years of operation the workers witnessed a change from bucksaw and ax to the use of a bulky new invention, the chain saw, just before the mill's closing. In the later years of operation a 1928 Chevrolet truck, brought by boat from Happy Adventure, could be seen on the site, hauling away slabs and sawdust from the mill. A tractor also came upon the scene during the last years. Charles Penney from St. John's had been granted land to be cleared for agricultural purposes, although little cultivation was undertaken before the Federal Government's purchase of the land.

The King family operation in Minchin's Cove is another for which considerable information is available.[34] The mill was begun in 1925 by three men - William John King, his brother Eli and his son Roland. It was powered first by a gasoline engine, until the mill burned down in the early 1930s. An eighteen-foot-high waterwheel was constructed after the fire and this remained in use until the final years when a twenty-four-horsepower diesel was installed. The logging was done in the

country in back of the cove, especially around what was referred to as the "inside pond," the larger of the two main ponds. The logs, cut and hauled to the water, were boomed and towed by boat to the brook which flowed into the smaller Schoolhouse Pond. There they would be held, generally until spring when they would be driven down the brook. As with all the sawmill operations in the sound, the bulk of the wood cut was spruce or fir, with only a small percentage of pine. Railway ties and pitprops (both for Bell Island and for the Newfoundland government) and lumber for construction were the main products of the mill. The King Mill at Minchin's Cove ceased activity in the 1940s.

One of the last sawmills to begin work in Newman Sound was that operated by George Squire and his father, Charlie, at Piss-a-Mare Brook (where the main park wharf in Newman Sound is today).[35] They began in the late 1940s and continued till 1957 when they were forced to cease operation. Much of the cutting was done in the vicinity of the mill itself, on the edge of Salton's Marshes. The first power source was a second-hand diesel engine, but when that was no longer suitable for use, another engine (which started on gas and ran on stove oil) was purchased. The bulk of the lumber (sold at $40 per thousand during the final year) was purchased by the firm of Chester Dawe in St. John's.

It is important to remember that the sawmills were only the most noticeable of the woods activities taking place in Newman Sound during those years. Practically everybody in the nearby communities who wanted to could find work and many who cut logs did so independently of the sawmill operators. Besides lumber, railway ties and pitprop, the schooners which came to the sound in the spring would load large quantities of wharf sticks, most of them destined for pier construction in St. John's:

> In the spring of the year when she'd break up...there'd be dozens of schooners come in here, go up to Newman Sound and load up...take it to Bell Island, St. John's, all around Conception Bay, Port Union. ...Salton's Brook...on both sides of that Brook timber was piled up...well you could hardly get a place to put another stick. You'd hardly think where so much timber would come from.[36]

The work was available, but none of it was easy by any means. Many workers were not

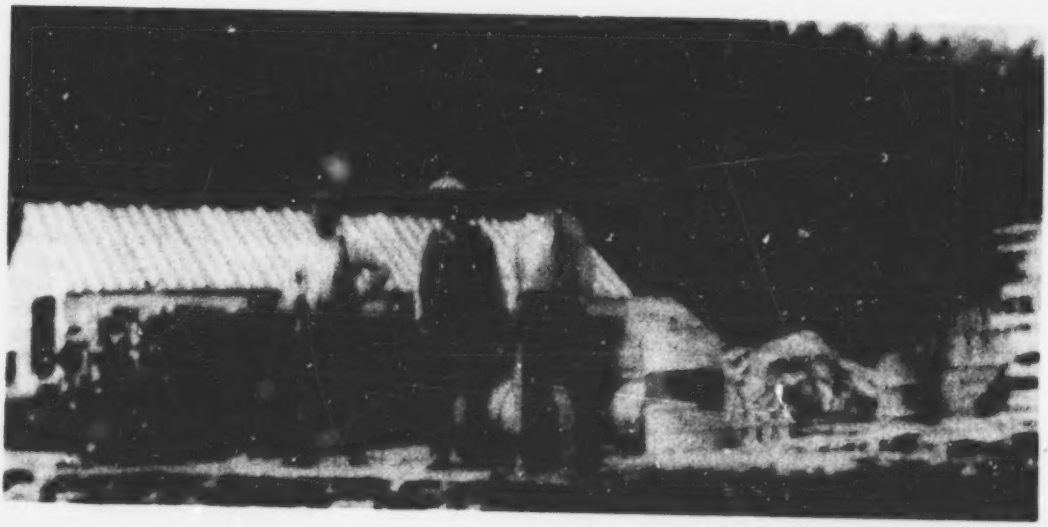

Figure 23. Lane's mill, Newman Sound in the 1920s. *Left to right:* Garland Turner, unidentified, George Hubert Lane. Bell Island ties are piled in the background. (Hilda Lane, Eastport)

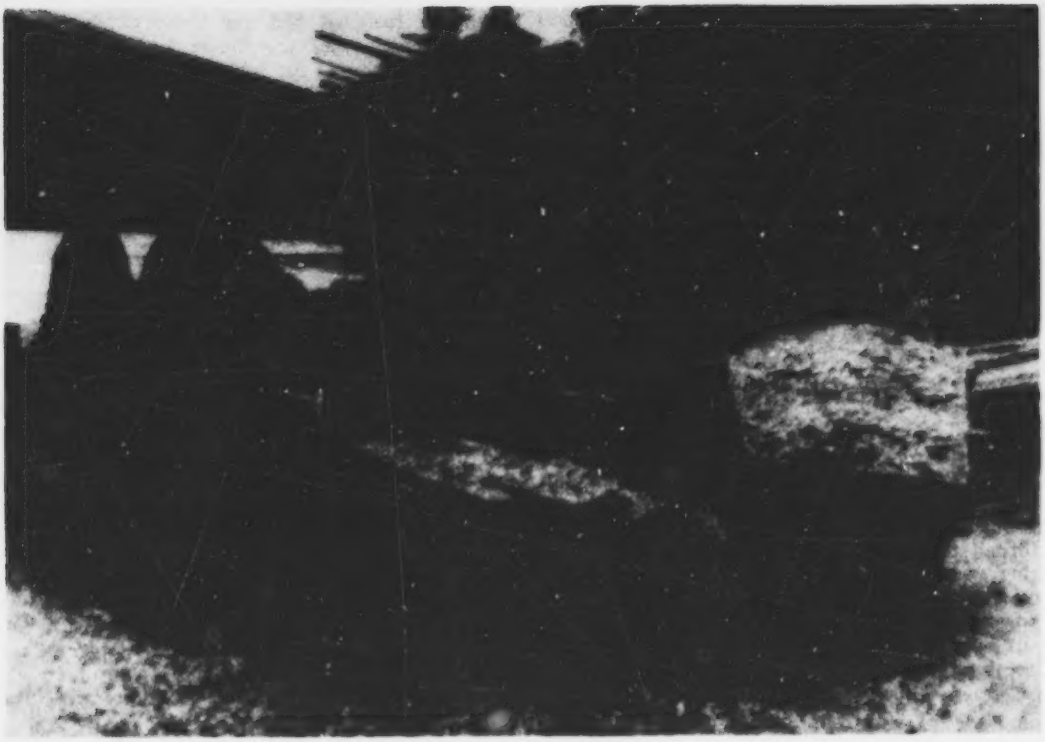

Figure 24. Lane's mill, Newman Sound, ca. 1940. *Left to right:* Walter Lane, George Hubert Lane, Mark Lane. (Mrs. George Squire, Eastport)

long finished the summer fishery on the Labrador coast before they were preparing to head "up the bay" into Newman Sound. Some brought their families and formed small winter communities, other groups consisted solely of men who had to be content with fortnightly visits by horse-drawn sleighs to their home communities. Work was long, from dawn to dusk on every day that the weather was suitable.

Most women who lived in Newman Sound remember their days there as happy ones:

> I spent 11 winters in Minchin's Cove. ...And we never had a radio, no such thing as television, nothing. Just had to make our own fun. That was the happy days, I'm tellin' you. Best winters I ever spent in my life was those 11 winters. Because we use to have dances, singin' songs, and...scoffs, and...blessed knows what. Make your own fun, that's it. An no snarling one with another, no nothing, everything going along pleasant and happy. ...Had a log cabin built for winter time. Papered, though, floor painted, comfortable as could be.[37]

What trying times there were usually resulted from some medical emergency. The nearest trained medical person was a nurse in Traytown and so people had to learn to handle many situations themselves. One woman points to scars today resulting from severe bites from an angry dog when she was only 12 and living with her family near Big Brook.[38] Her mother bandaged the jaggedly torn flesh "with mur, balsam, and iodine"[39] and then later cleaned it with a bread poultice. It was a month before the girl was able to attempt walking again.

Life in Newman Sound was even more isolated than that in the outports from which the

people came. For the few families that could afford one, a radio offered some contact with the outside world. An "eight-tube Silvertone" was added to the Lane household in 1937. It ran on three large batteries and brought them war news directly from England and programs from St. John's and Sydney, Nova Scotia (including a much listened-to Sunday church service and the music of Don Messer and Marg Osburne). The people saw neither doctor nor minister, yet they "made do" on both accounts. Sunday was strictly observed as if a minister were in attendance, including the provision of Sunday school instruction for the children.

If there was a need that wasn't adequately met it was that of a day school for the young people who accompanied their parents to the winter homes. Some children stayed behind with relatives and attended school during the winter in their home communities, but others went for years with only a few months of formal instruction each fall and spring. Such disadvantages, though, did not outweigh the advantages, for the people considered themselves lucky to find such steady employment, especially during the 1930s when so much of the country was suffering considerably more financial hardship.

**Terra Nova**

The community of Terra Nova had come into existence as a result of railroad construction in the 1890s. The water system on which it lies had been a traditional route inland. It was used by the Beothucks and to some extent the early settlers, such as Stroud, the first to settle at its mouth,[40] and the surveyors Murray and Howley. But it was the railway that opened up the area and made it well-known.

In the early part of this century, in fact, Terra Nova was internationally known as the starting point for some of the best caribou hunting in the world. Several world-renowned hunters not only travelled to the area but wrote detailed descriptions of their adventures in numerous books:

> My destination, Terra Nova, lies one hundred and seventy-one miles distant from St. John's, and is reached in something over

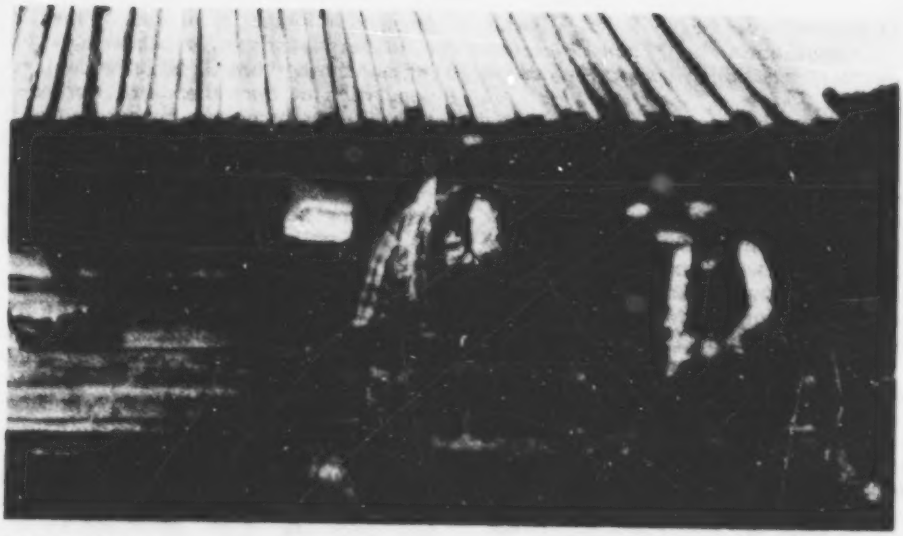

Figure 25. Lane residence at Newman Sound, ca. 1950. *Left to right:* Mr. Randell, Caleb Lane, George Hubert Lane, Charles Penney. (Hilda Lane, Eastport).

> eight hours by the express. ...I found refuge in the single wooded house of Tim Howco, the section man. Lonely as was the spot, it knew nothing of the silences of solitude, for in the little room of the railway agent the telegraph machine never seemed to cease its clatter for ten minutes, day or night. Such was Terra Nova in 1903...[41]

The author, H. Hesketh Prichard, and several others, including F.C. Selous, Sir John G. Millais and Richard D. Ware (who had all travelled several continents stalking big game) were lavish in their praise of the hunting and the local guides they hired, such as John Stroud, Jack Wells and Robert Saunders (Figs 26 and 27):

> He (John Stroud) was born on the island and was somewhat over fifty years old when I knew him. He was a thick set, powerful man, one of the breed that lifts flour barrels with the teeth in the fulness of youthful strength. He had trapped and hunted at all seasons all his life, for game laws are a somewhat new institution with the Newfoundlanders. While the railroad was building he hunted caribou all along the line to supply the workmen with fresh meat, and he knew the creatures as the shepherd knows his sheep. ...When it was a question of Nature's laws and forces, which he had studied and with which he had struggled all his life, his theories were nearly facts. ...In his great experience he had learned innumerable things which apparently no one else knew.[42]

The guides brought the hunters, with their canoes and supplies, inland beyond Terra Nova Lake, through a network of waterways, and into the territory of the prized caribou.

The Terra Nova that Prichard had described in 1903 had already witnessed the rise and fall of one sawmill.[43] In the early 1900s a second attempt at sawmilling met with failure. This time the owner was William F. Horwood, one of the pioneers in Newfoundland sawmilling who established successful operations in a number of other Newfoundland communities. Other attempts at sawmilling were tried, one by Cranford in the early 1920s, but again without much success.

It was the log-cutting operations undertaken by the Terra Nova Sulphite Company in conjunction with their proposed sulphite mill in Glovertown (see previous section on Alexander Bay) that really turned Terra Nova into more than a stopping point for the railway. This work resulted in a large influx of settlers. When the Sulphite Company went bankrupt, the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company acquired the lease and so Terra Nova became the most easterly of that company's logging divisions, supplying wood for the paper mill in Grand Falls (Fig. 21). Wood was cut, hauled to the Terra Nova River, then driven down in spring to Terra Nova Lake. Harnessed in booms, the four-foot logs were towed to where they could be loaded aboard railway cars for shipment to Grand Falls. This logging industry continued for thirty-eight years, coming to an end in 1962.

### Clode Sound

The census figures for 1901, 1911 and 1921 show a marked rise in the number of inhabitants taking part in lumbering in the Clode Sound area:[44]

| | 1901 | 1911 | 1921 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bloomfield | - | 4 | 47 |
| Musgravetown | - | 4 | 39 |
| Canning's Cove | - | 2 | 32 |
| Bunyan's Cove | - | 3 | 9 |
| Port Blandford | 2 | 16 | 18 |
| Charlottetown | - | 8 | 15 |

With the exception of Charlottetown and Bunyan's Cove, by 1921 the number of people engaged in lumbering in each of these communities surpassed the number engaged in catching and curing fish. A large percentage of the population of Port Blandford worked for the railway, but otherwise lumbering had become the dominant occupation of the area.

During the first years of the century much of the woods work being done was in the form of cutting hoops and staves, which were sold to local or St. John's merchants who in turn sold them to the factories for the manufacture of fish casks. Wharf sticks and firewood were also cut (and sometimes carried to St. John's by fishing schooner in spring). But sawmilling, pioneered in Newfoundland in the Gambo area during the late 1800s,[45] had spread to Clode Sound by the beginning of the century's second decade. Weston Henry Spracklin, the founder of Charlottetown, was one of the first to start a sawmill operation.[46] He chose Bread Cove as the site and constructed a steam-driven mill near the mouth of Bread Cove Brook. This was the start of concentrated lumbering activity in the cove, activity that continued

Figure 26. "John Stroud, with forty-three point head." (Richard D. Ware, *In the Woods and on the Shore*, Boston: L.C. Page and Co., 1908, p. 6)

till the late 1950s and for some years gave the area the appearance of a settled community (Fig. 28) as evidenced by its year-round occupancy and the construction of a school.[47]

Over the years the original steam-driven mill changed ownership several times and was eventually dismantled. Two waterwheel-driven mills were constructed, one by William T. and Elias Greening (in the late 1920s) and the other by W.W. Young (in the early 1930s), all residents of Musgravetown. A third mill, this one powered by a gasoline engine, was built by Gideon Greening. The cutting of wood was a winter activity that took place along the many woods roads in the vicinity of the water system which emptied into Bread Cove. The logs were hauled by horse or oxen to the edge of the frozen brooks and ponds to await the spring thaw when they were boomed and driven as far as the dam constructed just below the falls near the mouth of Bread Cove Brook. Here, by means of wooden chutes, the logs were "sluiced" to the mills where a "jack-ladder" allowed them to be hauled inside for sawing. In some mills the logs were both sawed and planed, while in others only "rough" lumber was produced. This rough lumber was either loaded aboard schooners to be sold as is, or else it was transported by scow to be finished at mill sites in Musgravetown.

Bread Cove, although the largest, was only one of the many sites in Clode Sound where sawmilling operations were underway during the second quarter of the present century.[48] Coves from Lion's Den and Park Harbour at the entrance of Chandler Reach, along the

north side of Clode Sound (Long Beach, Parish Cove, Johnson's Cove, Charlottetown, etc.), to Port Blandford and then along the south side of the sound all witnessed sawmilling activity at one time or another. Local schooners, such as the *Lillian and Jackie* and the *Irene May*, both owned by W.W. Young, brought the lumber to the markets of the Avalon Peninsula, or else it was transported to Port Blandford, sold to the firm of Daniel Pelley, and eventually loaded aboard rail cars to be marketed across the island.

The woods operation which took place in the Park Harbour-Lion's Den region might be considered typical of the lumbering activities of the time.[49] In the mid-1930s the Reader family (sawmill owners in Bloomfield) constructed a gasoline-powered mill at Park Harbour, which was later replaced by one driven by a twenty-foot (diameter) waterwheel. At the height of the year-round operation it employed ten to twelve men, mostly from Bloomfield, Lethbridge and Canning's Cove. A 200-foot wooden chute guided the logs from the dam blocking the outlet of the pond inside to the mill site. A tramcar and truck (both constructed of wood) brought the sawed timber to the shoreline where it could be loaded aboard boats for shipment to Conception Bay for sale to firms such as the Beachgrove Lumber Company and W.G. Garland. Most of the wood was spruce or fir, but a good portion

Figure 27. Jack Wells and caribou. (H.H. Prichard, *Hunting Camps in Wood and Wilderness*. London: William Heinemann, 1910, p. 86)

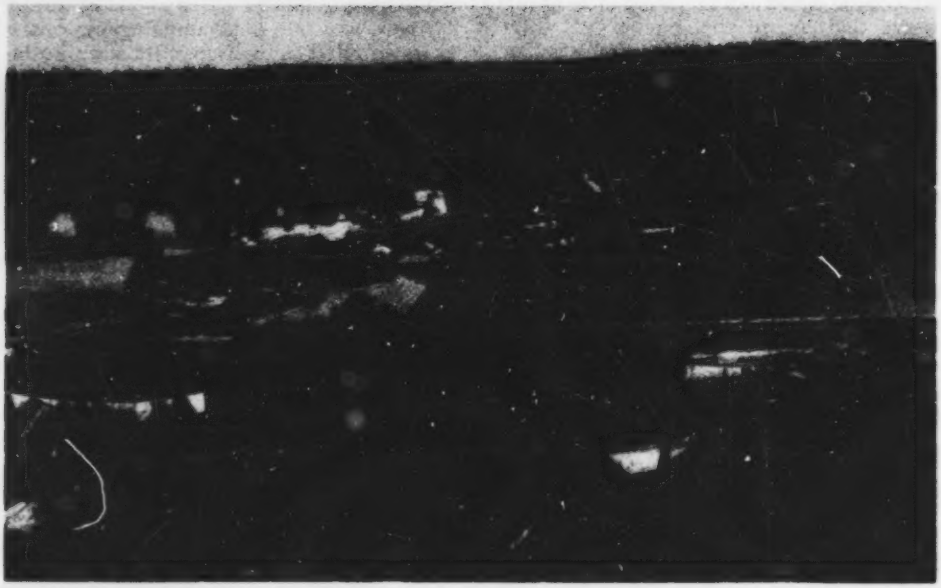

Figure 28. Bread Cove, Clode Sound, ca. 1932. Mill shown was owned by Willis and Alfred Greening. Note wooden chute in foreground used by Pelley for transporting logs from brook to saltwater, diverting them from the sawmills. (Boyd Pelley, Port Blandford)

of it was pine, a common tree type in the Park Harbour area at the time.

While the mill was in operation boats would often arrive from Keels and Bonavista to load wood slabs for firewood or the staves that were being cut in the mill for use in the cask factory at Bonavista. Also concurrent with the sawmill operation was a pitprop and pulpwood business in Lion's Den started by Benjamin Stead and his son Abel of Musgravetown. The area was then a flurry of activity, some of which took place on territory adjacent to that being used by sawmill operators in Minchin's Cove in Newman Sound. By the mid-1940s activity had ceased in both areas.

Besides the sawmilling in Clode Sound, the other dominant activity during the 1920s and 1930s was the pitprop and pulpwood business carried out by the Port Blandford merchant Daniel Pelley (Figs 29-32).[50] The enterprise was initiated during World War I when a shortage of timber in the United Kingdom (the traditional suppliers, Sweden and Russia, had been cut off) forced the mining industries (such as the coal mines of Cardiff) to seek pitprop overseas. Large foreign ships regularly entered the sound and loaded thousands of cords of wood. As was the case with the Briffett enterprise in Alexander Bay, in some years the pitprop was cut under contract to the Newfoundland government which bartered the wood for coal to supply their trains and boats. Pulpwood too was shipped overseas (several cargoes went to Germany and England), although the bulk of it was destined for the paper mill at Corner Brook. The cutting of railway ties and wharf sticks also formed part of the business.

At the height of the Pelley's pitprop-pulpwood operation practically the whole population of Bunyan's Cove and Charlottetown was employed in this venture. A substantial number of residents of Musgravetown and Canning's Cove and, of course, Port Blandford also found employment in this way. The men were not bound by contract, but rather obtained supplies on credit from Pelley's and worked in groups on their own. They began work in the woods by building the log "camps" which would be their residences during the winter. The logs were cut, sometimes "rinded" (Fig. 32) and then piled by the ponds or brooks. A

scaler employed by Pelley arrived in the spring to measure and record the amount of wood cut. With the thaw a "drive foreman" oversaw the driving process that would bring the logs to the saltwater in various coves along the sound. There they were boomed (and in some cases hauled to coves which had deeper water) and finally loaded aboard waiting vessels.[51]

By the late 1940s many of the sawmills that were once scattered along the shoreline of Clode Sound had ceased operation. World War II had brought considerable change to Newfoundland. Many men were opting for more stable employment in the construction work being undertaken at the newly begun armed forces bases at Gander, Argentia, Stephenville and other sites. In addition, much of the most accessible timber in Clode Sound had been cut.

There was one important logging operation, however, that actually had its start in the late 1940s. This was undertaken by Don and Les Spracklin, great grandsons of Weston Henry Spracklin who had erected the first sawmill in Bread Cove. This woods operation was concentrated at various sites, including Cobblers Brook, Platters Cove, Bread Cove and the Charlottetown area.[52] At its height about thirty men were employed year-round, plus a number of others employed at intervals for "piece" work, i.e. work paid for, not by a fixed salary, but by the amount of wood cut. The wood was boomed and brought to Charlottetown to Spracklins' sawmill for sawing and finishing, after which it was shipped by

**Figure 29. Loading pitprop aboard overseas ship in Clode Sound in 1930s. (Boyd Pelley, Port Blandford)**

Figure 30. Pitprop on deck of overseas ship in Clode Sound in 1930s. (Boyd Pelley, Port Blandford)

schooner to St. John's. In the beginning years of the operation the lumber was sold to firms such as the Horwood Lumber Company and Harvey and Company, but after 1950 the Spracklins had started up their own lumber company in St. John's. The enterprise also saw considerable change in the methods of the woods work, from the horse and bucksaw when they first started, to the use of tractors and chain saws when they finished work in 1958. The Spracklins' lumbering enterprise continues today, having been relocated in the Gambo area.

The way of life that evolved at the various temporary sites on the north side of Clode Sound during the first fifty years of this century was in many ways similar to that to be experienced in Newman Sound during the same period. The people who lived at the mill sites experienced many of the same joys of close-knit community life, as well as many of the same inconveniences. Trained medical personnel were rarely available. There were no churches and no schools, except for the one that operated for a time at Bread Cove. The people accepted the situation and for the most part settled into a contented existence. Hunting for game such as rabbits, foxes, seals and ducks, as well as fishing for salmon, lobster and other species added diversity to the way of life and additional provisions to the storehouse. Domesticated animals (goats, pigs, chickens, etc.) were part of the community as were the dogs used to haul sleighs loaded with supplies and people during the winter months.

The homes constructed to shelter those families who chose to spend the winter at the mill sites were simple yet comfortable dwellings. Built, of course, with local lumber, they were often insulated with sawdust from the mills. Sometimes sheets of canvas covered the floor, and, as was true of the homes in the permanently settled communites, each was heated by a single wood stove in the kitchen. The same stove served for cooking as well, and many were the meals that greeted the hungry loggers and sawmill operators as they returned home after their daylight-to-dark workdays.

## Shipbuilding

Although in no way matching the continued importance of lumbering during the years, shipbuilding did play a part in the economy of both Newman and Clode sounds. A total of five schooners are said to have been built in Newman Sound, and a sixth one repaired there. The majority of them were used for the Labrador fishery. In 1925 Edgar Dawe of Sandy Cove built the fifty-one-ton *Episcopus* for the Union Trading Company of Port Union. In 1929 the same Edgar Dawe built the sixty-seven-ton *E. Dawe* on a piece of land adjacent to the Lane's mill near Big Brook. The year 1934 witnessed the construction of two more vessels - the *J.C. Squire*, a schooner of seventy-six tons built by William H. Dyke of Eastport, and the *Julia R. Johnson* (80-90 tons) built by William Johnson of Catalina. The construction of the *J.C. Squire* employed ten to twelve men hired by the businessman John Squire of Eastport who used the vessel in the Labrador fishery and later for coasting wood from Newman Sound. The *Julia R. Johnson*, the largest of the schooners built in Newman Sound, was built near Piss-a-Mare Brook for Baine Johnson and Company of St. John's who used her in the local and foreign coasting trade. The thirty-five-ton *H. and M. Hunter* was the last schooner constructed in Newman Sound. Built in 1936, this vessel was also used in the Labrador fishery.

One of the best schooners ever to sail the sound was the *Fanny S. Horne*, repaired there in 1925 (Fig. 33). Built in the late 1800s in Boothbay, Maine, this eighty-four-ton ship was first used as a banking schooner, but was later bought by Thomas Turner of Happy Adventure (in 1908). All oak construction, she was noted as a good sailor (some would say the best ever to sail that coast). The Turner family used her first in the Labrador fishery and then as a coaster to carry lumber from their mill at Salton's Brook. A fire in her forecastle resulted in her being hauled ashore at Sandy Point (near the present-day park wharf) for replacement of some of her planking. The *Fanny S. Horne* was later sold to James Matchim of Sandy Cove, and Henry James Matchim, his son, captained her for several years as a coasting vessel. In the 1950s she was sold to Guy Earle of Harbour Grace and today her remains can be seen beached in that community.[53]

The height of that shipbuilding enterprise in Clode Sound was reached during the years of World War I and shortly thereafter. Steer Brothers Limited had businessman Daniel

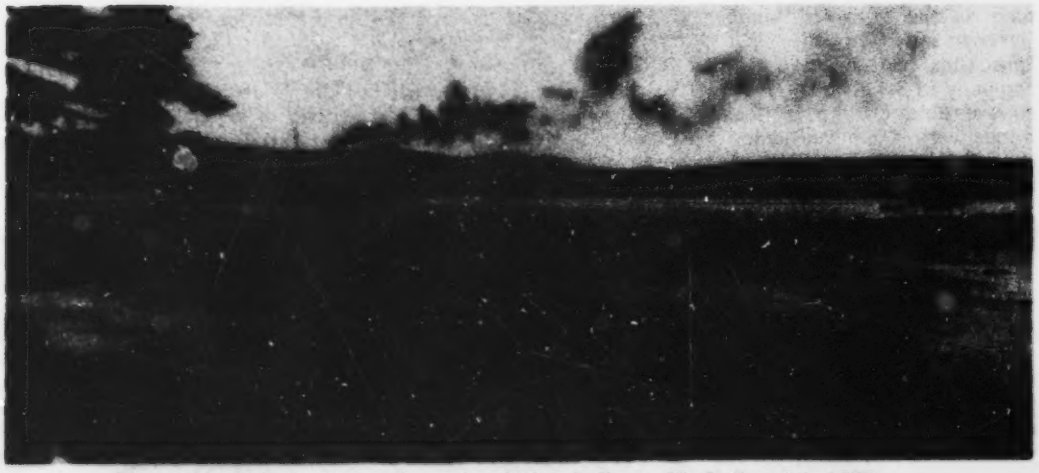

**Figure 31. Ship loading pulpwood at Milner's Cove, Clode Sound in 1930s. Ship was destined for paper mill in Corner Brook. Bread Cove is visible on opposite side of Clode Sound. (Boyd Pelley, Port Blandford)**

Figure 32. Removing bark from pulpwood, Salmon Brook, Clode Sound, in 1930s. (Boyd Pelley, Port Blandford)

Pelley build five three-masted schooners in Port Blandford at that time. Averaging approximately 350 tons, these vessels were built for the foreign fishing trade, carrying dried cod to Europe and the West Indies. In Charlottetown a similar venture was underway at the same time. A.E. Hickman and Company of St. John's (through their agent J.T. Swyers of Bonavista) organized the construction of five three-masted schooners - the *Florence Squires* (300 tons), the *Joan Hickman* (400 tons), the *Marie Louise* (420 tons), the *Workman* (420 tons) and the *Kinsman* (420 tons). The foreman for the project was Arch Chaulk. These vessels were also constructed for the foreign fishing trade, the mainstay of the Newfoundland economy at that time.

## Cartographic Survey - Part V

By the twentieth century the Bonavista Bay area had been mapped well enough to allow for the publication of specialized travel maps such as that produced in 1900 (Fig. 34) showing the routes of the railway and steamships and the location of the lighthouses. The Ten Mile Map of 1941 (Fig. 35) is a further, much more detailed example. It indicates not only the roads and the railways, but also the electoral boundaries, the land elevations, settlement sizes and communications stations.

Confederation with Canada in 1949, and the resultant influx of surveyors from the Federal Government in Ottawa, brought about the most

detailed cartographic work yet done in the area. The topographic maps of 1950 (Figs 36-38) were a giant step forward in the mapping of the interior. Sophisticated cartographic techniques produced detail vastly ahead of that on any maps in use before that time. A further topographic series in 1966 showed additional improvements.

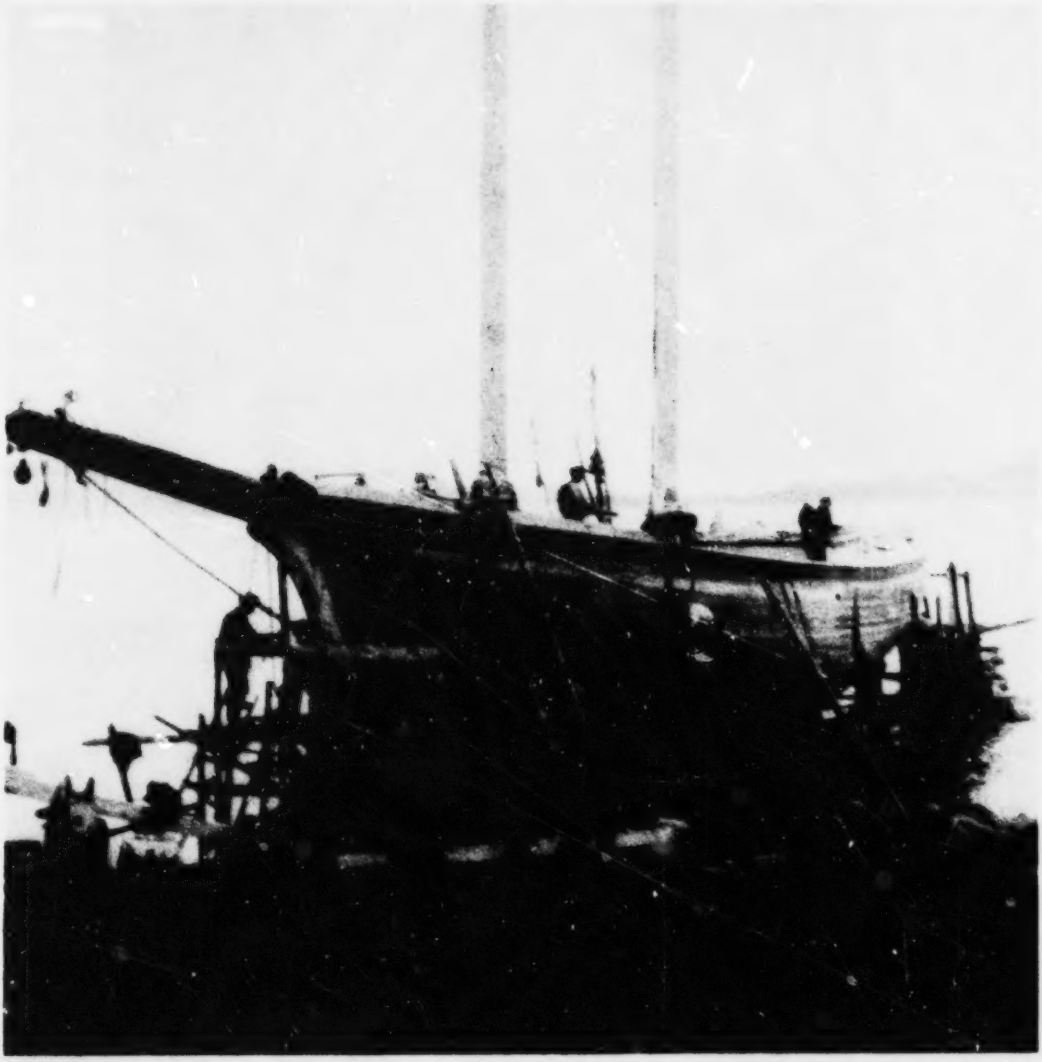

Figure 33. Repairing of *Fanny S. Horne* in Newman Sound, 1925.
(Harvey Turner, Happy Adventure)

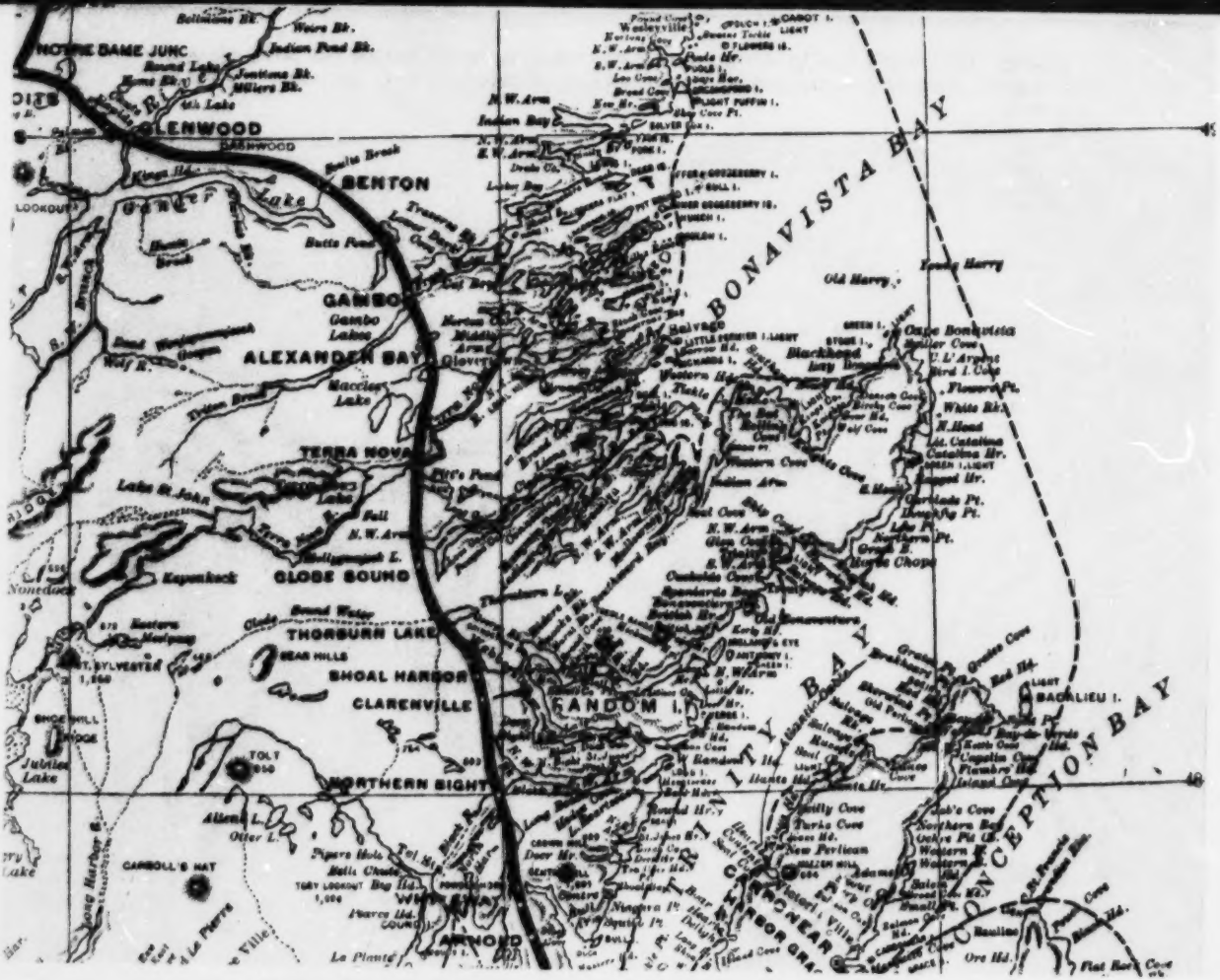


Figure 34. Detail from "Map of Newfoundland," South Publishing Company, 1900. (Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's)

Figure 35. Detail of "Ten Mile Map of Newfoundland," Department of Natural Resources (Crown Land and Surveys Branch), 1941. (Arts and Culture Centre Library, St. John's)

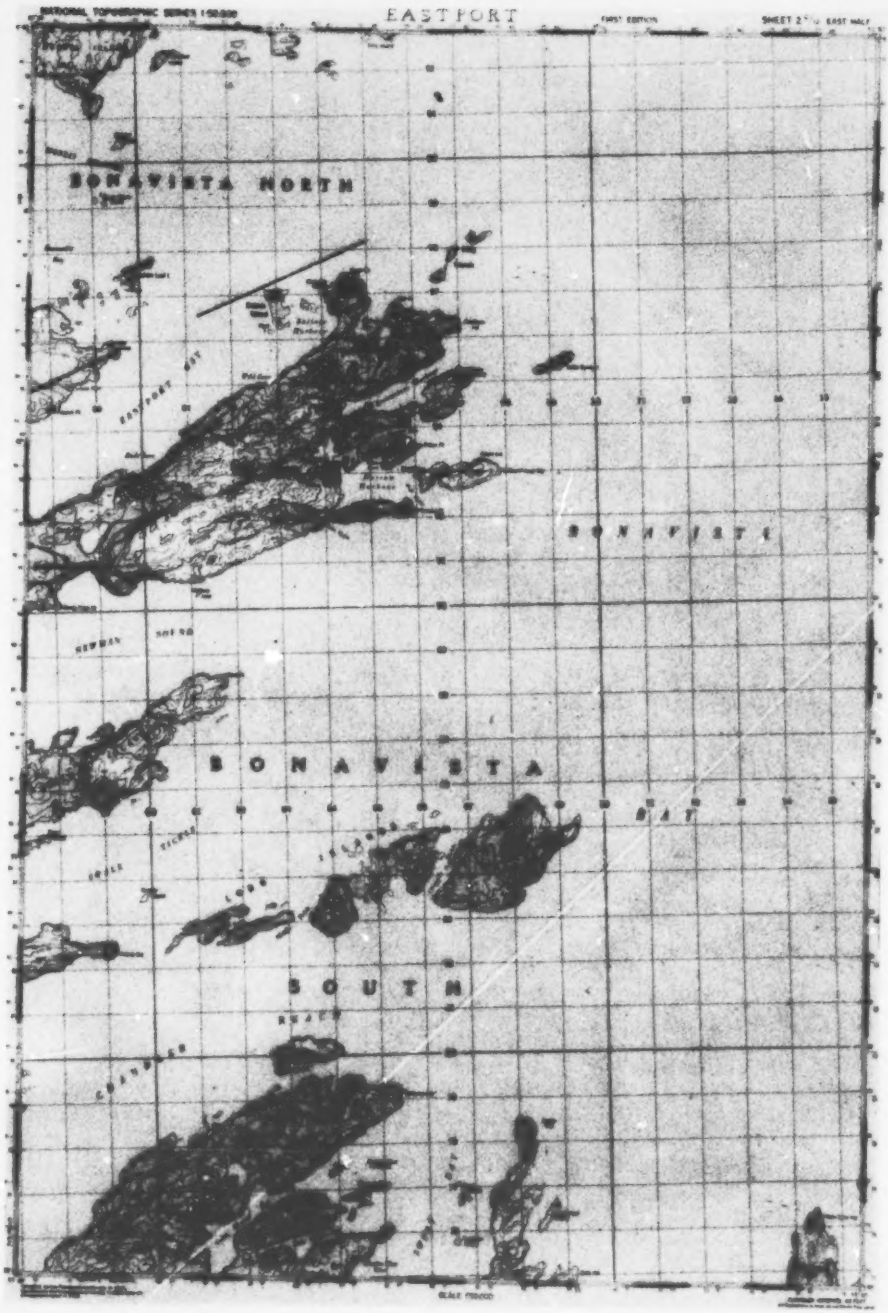


Figure 36. "Eastport, East Half," National Topographic Series, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys, Ottawa, 1950. (Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's)

Figure 37. "Eastport, West Half," National Topographic Series, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys, Ottawa, 1950. (Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's)

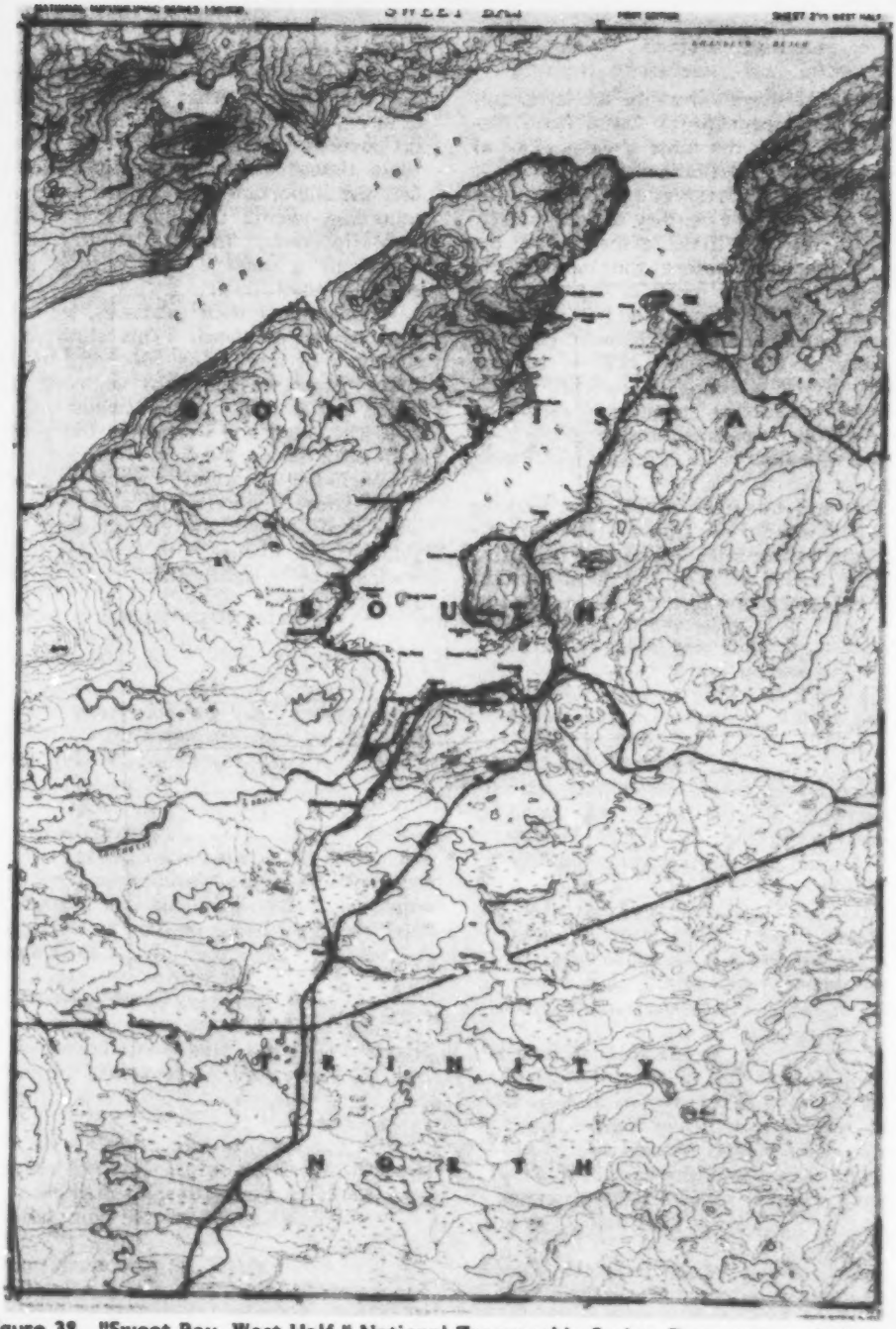


Figure 38. "Sweet Bay, West Half," National Topographic Series, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys, Ottawa, 1950. (Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's)

## CONCLUSION

When officials began work in the area following the establishment of Terra Nova National Park in 1957, the most obvious signs of previous human occupation were the numerous woods roads, logging camps and mill sites - the remnants of twentieth century logging activities.[54] There was little evidence of the history of the area before the turn of the century, nor was there much in the way of a written record. The people who had inhabited the region through the centuries were generally too busy in the constant task of seeking food and earning a living to concern themselves with committing to paper a record of local events. Perhaps they thought their lives were too mediocre to make interesting reading.

Yet this was far from the truth. Lurking behind what we do know now must be immensely interesting tales - from the primitive time of the native peoples and their contact with the explorers, through the lawless era of the migratory fishery, to the years when the settlers struggled against a rugged land and unpredictable sea to make southern Bonavista Bay their home. What stories of shipwrecks, of fires, of successful fisheries, and of sorrowful poverty have been lost? The past inhabitants almost without exception failed to realize the importance for future generations of recording events that happened within their own lifetimes. They failed to realize how important a sense of the past is in setting goals for the future.

Having noted their mistakes, we cannot afford to repeat them. This study is a brief summary of more than 500 years of the local past. Much of the final segment has been based on personal communication with individuals who lived and worked in the present-day park area during the first half of this century. In concluding the study, I would emphasize the importance of an ongoing attempt to consult with local people and record their recollections of the events both previous to and following the establishment of Terra Nova National Park.

## PERSONAL COMMUNICATIONS

The following is a list of people who provided a substantial amount of information for this study.

**Reginald Bates, Happy Adventure**
Seventy-six years old; worked for Turners at Salton's in Newman Sound for twenty-seven years; present when *Fanny S. Horne* was repaired; taped interview, 22 Jan. 1979.

**Maxwell Bradley, Eastport**
Bus driver and businessman in Eastport; logged in Newman Sound; knowledgeable about local history.

**Eric Briffett, Glovertown**
Owns a lumbering business; his grandfather came from France and was one of the first settlers in Glovertown; had wood cut in South West Arm and along Terra Nova River, some of it pitprop cut in 1930s for shipment overseas; taped interview, 1 Feb. 1979.

**Hector Chaulk, Charlottetown**
Fifty-one years old; now maintenance supervisor with park; logged in area before 1958; knowledgeable about local history; taped interview, 11 Jan. 1979.

**Evelyn Dyke, Eastport**
Daughter of William Lane; married to Joe Dyke; lived with family at Big Brook, Newman Sound, and suffered severe dog bites there as young girl; on taped interview with William Lane.

**Willis Greening, Musgravetown**
Sixty-nine years old; owned and worked sawmill in Bread Cove with father, uncle and brother in 1930s; taped interview, 24 Jan. 1979.

**Baxter Haley, Charlottetown**
Operates general store in Charlottetown; had sawmill in Charlottetown in 1950s; also operated squid factory there.

**W. Gordon Handcock, St. John's**
Born in Eastport; Assistant Professor of geography at Memorial University; authority on migrations to Newfoundland from England's West Country.

**Wilfred Heffern, Salvage**
Lived in Barrow Harbour until 1925; presently caretaker for Salvage Museum; knowledgeable about history of Barrow Harbour and Salvage.

**Harwood Hobbs, Bunyan's Cove**
Logged in Bread Cove in 1930s and elsewhere in Clode Sound; cut and loaded pitprop for Pelley's; taped interview, 24 Jan. 1979.

**Malcolm Kean, Musgravetown**
Born in Wesleyville about sixty-six years ago; came to Musgravetown at twenty; operated schooners *Lillian and Jackie* and *Irene May* for W.W. Young, servicing five or six mills and coasting lumber to Avalon Peninsula; taped interview, 24 Jan. 1979.

**Ethel King, Sandy Cove**
Eighty-four years old; wife of the late Eli King, part-owner of mill in Minchin's Cove; lived for eleven winters in Minchin's Cove.

**Roland King, Sandy Cove**
Seventy years old; worked at mill in Minchin's Cove with father and uncle, starting in 1925; lived at Minchin's Cove for sixteen winters; taped interview, 4 Jan. 1979.

**Mark Lane, Eastport**
Fifty-five years old; son of George Hubert Lane who owned mill in Newman Sound; worked there till mill closed; now works with park; taped interview, 15 Jan. 1979.

**Walter Lane, Eastport**
Approximately seventy-eight years old; relative of Caleb and George Hubert Lane who owned mill in Newman Sound; worked at mill for fourteen years.

**William Lane, Eastport**
Eighty-five years old; worked four winters (beginning about 1921) at mill in Salton's Brook owned by Thomas Turner, his uncle; brother to George Hubert Lane, who owned mill at Big Brook; worked at that mill for approximately twenty winters; taped interview, 8 Jan. 1979.

**Alan G. Macpherson, St. John's**
Associate Professor of geography at Memorial University; author of "A Modal Sequence in the Peopling of Central Bonavista Bay, 1676-1857."

**Nelson Matchim, Sandy Cove**
Operates general store in Sandy Cove; father worked as scaler for John Squire; lived in South Broad Cove in 1930s and lived in Newman Sound when *E. Dawe* was built; knowledgeable about local history; taped interview, 12 Feb. 1979.

**Charlie Moss, Happy Adventure**
Ninety-two years old; oldest resident of Happy Adventure; worked in Newman Sound, including some years with Art Turner at Salton's Brook; warden at Big Brook in 1950s; taped interview, 18 Jan. 1979.

**Fabian O'Dea, St. John's**
Former lieutenant-governor of Newfoundland; lawyer; Newfoundland's foremost authority on early cartography of the island; author of several articles and a book, *The 17th Century Cartography of Newfoundland*.

**Boyd Pelley, Port Blandford**
Father, Daniel Pelley, started business in Port Blandford; continues business today; involved with pitprop, pulpwood and sawmill operations; taped interview, 24 Jan. 1979.

**William E. Penney, Canning's Cove**
Eighty-seven years old; worked at many sites in Clode Sound, including Bread Cove and Johnson's Cove; owned mill in Long Cove; taped interview, 24 Jan. 1979.

**Ashwell Reader, Bloomfield**
Father had mill in Bloomfield; operated mill in Park Harbour, ca. 1935-46; until recently, worked at garage in Bloomfield; taped interview, February 1979.

**Don Spracklin, Charlottetown**
Fifty-six years old; great grandfather, Weston Henry Spracklin, first settler in Charlottetown; owns business in Charlottetown; 1947-58 ran logging operation in present park area; continues lumbering business today; taped interview, 1 Feb. 1979.

**George Squire, Eastport**
Sixty-three years old; logged in Newman Sound for many years; operated sawmill at Piss-a-Mare Brook from late 1940s to 1957; taped interview, 18 Jan. 1979.

**Walter Squire, Eastport**
Businessman; son of John Squire who had contracts for wood cutting in Newman Sound and was owner of *J.C. Squire*.

**James Tuck, St. John's**
Professor, Department of Anthropology, Memorial University; authority on recent archaeological work done in Newfoundland and Labrador; author of *Newfoundland and Labrador Prehistory*.

**Gilbert Turner, Happy Adventure**
Seventy-eight years old; Johnny Turner (born 1879, died 1960), a furrier in Newman Sound, South Broad Cove and Minchin's Cove, lived with him thirty-two years.

**Harvey Turner, Happy Adventure**
Father, William Turner, was businessman in Happy Adventure; logged in Newman Sound with brothers; built schooner *Miss Turner* in Happy Adventure in 1936; engaged in Labrador Fishery for several years; worked with park, now retired; taped interviews, 10 Jan. and 12 Feb. 1979.

**John Young, Musgravetown**
Son of W.W. Young, businessman and sawmill operator in Musgravetown and Clode Sound; continues business in Musgravetown today; taped interview, 24 Jan. 1979.

## ENDNOTES

### The Sixteenth Century

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2 P.K. Devine, "Frenchmen's Footprints," The Christmas Review, 1892.

3 Henry Harrisse, The Discovery of North America (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1961), p. 74.

4 Henry S. Burrage, ed., Early English and French Voyages (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906), p. 5.

5 Keith Matthews, Lectures on the History of Newfoundland, 1500-1830 (St. John's : Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1973), p. 9.

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7 Bernard G. Hoffman, Cabot to Cartier (Toronto: Univ. Toronto Press, 1961), pp. 29-32. See also James P. Howley, The Boethucks or Red Indians (The Aboriginal Inhabitants of Newfoundland) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1915) (hereafter cited as The Beothucks), pp. 2-6.

8 Paul Carignan, Boethuck Archaeology in Bonavista Bay (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, Mercury Series, 1977).

9 Fabian O'Dea, "Early Maps of Newfoundland." In The Book of Newfoundland. Ed. Joseph R. Smallwood (St. John's: Newfoundland Book Publishers Limited, 1967), Vol. 3, p. 238.

10 See discussion of Maggiolo's Chart in the "Explorers" section of this chapter.

### The Seventeenth Century

1 Keith Matthews, op. cit., p. 77.

2 Ibid., p. 25. Matthews' lectures form the basis for much of the discussion of the migratory fishery.

3 F.N.L. Poynter, ed., The Journal of James Yonge (1647-1721) (London: Longmans, Green, 1963).

4 Ibid., p. 60.

5 Gillian T. Cell, English Enterprise in Newfoundland 1577-1660 (Toronto: Univ. Toronto Press, 1969), p. 105.

6 Keith Matthews, op. cit., pp. 121, 124.

7 D.W. Prowse, A History of Newfoundland, 2nd ed. (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1896) (hereafter cited as A History of Newfoundland), p. 196.

8 The English Pilot: The Fourth Book (London, 1689), p. 10. Facsimile edition published by Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Limited, Amsterdam, 1967.

9 A.M. Lysaght, ed., Joseph Banks in Newfoundland and Labrador, 1766 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), pp. 56-57.

10 D.W. Prowse, A History of Newfoundland, p. 280.

11 Alan G. Macpherson, "A Modal Sequence in the Peopling of Central Bonavista Bay, 1676-1857." In The Peopling of Newfoundland. Ed. John J. Mannion (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1977), pp. 107-10.

12 Ibid., p. 109.

13 Ibid., p. 108.

14 Fabian O'Dea, The 17th Century Cartography of Newfoundland (Monograph No. 1 in Cartographica, Department of Geography, York University, Toronto, 1971), p. 6.

15 G.R.F. Prowse, "Cartological Material," Vol. 3, Names (Winnipeg: G.R.F. Prowse, 1942), p. 107.

16 The English Pilot: The Fourth Book, op. cit., p. 10.

### The Eighteenth Century

1 C. Grant Head, Eighteenth Century Newfoundland (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976) (hereafter cited as Eighteenth Century Newfoundland).

2 D.W. Prowse, A History of Newfoundland, pp. 239-241.

3 There is no oral tradition of cannons ever being in Salvage, according to Wilfred Heffern, resident of Salvage and formerly of Barrow Harbour. He reported, however, that there were at one time sixteen cannons lying in four fathoms of water at Barrow Harbour, said to have been from a Spanish ship, The Royal Pandora, sunk by the English. In recent times someone attempted to dislodge the cannons by using dynamite but blew them up by doing so. Mr. Heffern also recalls hooking up lead objects from the bottom to melt and use as weights for a cast-net.

4 Alan G. Macpherson, op. cit., p. 106.

5 D.W. Prowse, A History of Newfound-

land, p. 258.
6 Ibid., p. 280.
7 Ibid., p. 277.
8 Ibid., p. 280; also Keith Matthews, op. cit., p. 157.
9 C. Grant Head, Eighteenth Century Newfoundland, pp. 24-25.
10 Ibid., pp. 75-76.
11 This view is supported by Gordon Handcock, Geography Department, Memorial University of Newfoundland, who has done considerable research in the history of the area.
12 Keith Matthews, op. cit., p. 224.
13 J.B. Jukes, Excursions In and About Newfoundland During the Years 1839 and 1840 (London: John Murray, 1842), Vol. 2, p. 85.
14 C. Grant Head, Eighteenth Century Newfoundland, p. 125.
15 Ibid., p. 76; also D.W. Prowse, A History of Newfoundland, p. 419 for description of seal fishery written by John Bland in 1802 while he was magistrate at Bonavista.
16 D.W. Prowse, A History of Newfoundland, p. 298.
17 Ibid., p. 420.
18 C. Grant Head, Eighteenth Century Newfoundland, p. 56.
19 Keith Matthews, op. cit., p. 260.
20 The original diary is at the Dorset County Record Office, Dorchester, England. The Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador, St. John's, have a microfilm copy.
21 These quotations are taken from the notes of Gordon Handcock, Geography Department, Memorial University of Newfoundland, who examined the original in detail.
22 Ibid.
23 C. Grant Head, Eighteenth Century Newfoundland, p. 175.
24 L.G. Chafe, Chafe's Sealing Book, 3rd ed. (St. John's: Trade Printers and Publishers, 1923), p. 20.
25 C. Grant Head, Eighteenth Century Newfoundland, p. 196.
26 Ibid., p. 174.
27 Ibid., p. 198.
28 Ibid., p. 230.
29 Ibid., p. 232.

**The Nineteenth Century**

1 C. Grant Head, Eighteenth Century Newfoundland, p. 236.
2 D.W. Prowse, A History of Newfoundland, pp. 403-404.
3 Register of Fishing Rooms, Bonavista, 1805-6. On file, Arts and Culture Centre Library, St. John's, Newfoundland. Also Alan G. Macpherson, op. cit., pp. 108-10.
4 Alan G. Macpherson, op. cit., p. 110.
5 Ibid., p. 110. Gaylor was the Bonavista agent of a Trinity merchant.
6 Ibid., p. 110.
7 Newfoundland, Department of Colonial Secretary, Census of Newfoundland, 1836. Census material is available for 1836, 1845, 1857, 1869, 1874, 1884, 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1935, and 1945. For some years the statistics are extensive, covering details of occupations, religious affiliation, education, etc.
8 Alan G. Macpherson, op. cit., p. 117.
9 J.B. Jukes, op. cit., Vol. 2, p 104.
10 Newfoundland, Department of Colonial Secretary, Census of Newfoundland, 1857; also "An Interview with Nelson Matchim," Stagehead, April 1976, p. 4, and C.N. Matchim, "Social and Economic History of the Eastport Peninsula, 1836-1949," April 1970, a student paper on file, Archives of the Maritime History Group, Memorial University of Newfoundland. Matchim reports an oral tradition of native occupation of Sandy Cove, including the uncovering of a birch bark coffin which is said to have enclosed a skeleton and various implements.
11 Alan G. Macpherson, op. cit., p. 124; also Norma Powell, "The History of Happy Adventure," n.d., student paper on file, Archives of the Maritime History Group, Memorial University of Newfoundland; also "A Few Words with Charlie Moss," Stagehead, November 1977, p. 10.
12 Harold Squire, A Newfoundland Outport in the Making (The Early History of Eastport) (Published by the author, 1974) (hereafter cited as A Newfoundland Outport).
13 "Gus Oldford," Stagehead, January 1978, p. 4.
14 "Tom Hunter," Stagehead, January 1978, p. 2. Mr. Hunter relates that the original name of St. Chad's, "Damnable," resulted from an incident in which a pirate ship was trying to escape from an English man-of-war. Supposedly the captain of the pirate ship ordered his men not to

make any noise, but the cook coming out of the galley inadvertently struck the ship's bell and cried out "Damn the bell!"

15 Fred Borden, "Traytown, Bonavista Bay," April 2, 1974, student paper on file, Archives of the Maritime History Group, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

16 Don Morris, "The Voice of Don," The Western Star (Corner Brook, Newfoundland), 6 Dec. 1963. Also Charles Lench, The Story of Methodism in Bonavista (St. John's: Robinson and Company, 1919), pp. 177-78, and James Kelly, The Voyage, The Churchship Star, 1870. (St. John's: Newfoundland and Labrador Provincial Archives, 1973), p. 43. Bishop Kelly reported Goose Bay had become comparatively populous within the last five or six years.

17 Michael Rosen, "Bread Cove Study Area Plan Document." Manuscript on file, Terra Nova National Park, 1977.

18 Personal communication with Alonzo Simmons, Charlottetown.

19 James P. Howley, The Beothucks, pp. 203, 216-17. There is also an oral tradition of Micmac Indians in the Canning's Cove area. See Personal Communications, taped interview with William E. Penney of Canning's Cove.

20 M. Greening, "Port Blandford," n.d., student paper on file, Archives of Maritime History Group, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

21 William Wilson, Newfoundland and its Missionaries (Cambridge, Mass.: Dakin and Metcalf, 1866), pp. 205-14, for a description of the cod fishery in nineteenth century Newfoundland.

22 D.W. Prowse, A History of Newfoundland, p. 404. "The shallop was a large boat, decked at both ends and open in the centre, with moveable deck-boards and pounds; ... their dimensions were 30 to 40 feet keel, 10 to 40 feet beam; many of the larger shallops had five men, and would carry 200 qtls. dry fish. The shalloways were open boats, what are now called punts."

23 William Wilson, op. cit., pp. 390-94.

24 C. Grant Head, "Settlement Migration in Central Bonavista Bay, Newfoundland," M.A. thesis, McMaster University, September 1974, p. 18.

25 Ibid., p. 18.

26 Ibid., p. 18; also W.A. Black, "The Labrador Floater Codfishery," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 1960, Vol. 50, p. 268.

27 W.A. Black, op. cit., p. 268.

28 W.A. Black, op. cit., p. 286; also based on personal communication with Harvey Turner, Happy Adventure, and Wilfred Heffern, Salvage.

29 W.A. Black, op. cit., pp. 269-70; also D.W. Prowse, A History of Newfoundland, pp. 379-80.

30 W.A. Black, op. cit., p. 269.

31 D.W. Prowse, A History of Newfoundland, p. 496; W.A. Black, op. cit., p. 272.

32 L.G. Chafe, op. cit., pp. 39-40.

33 Ibid., p. 40; H.M. Mosdell, When Was That? (St. John's: Trade Printers and Publishers, 1923), p. 120.

34 J.B. Jukes, op. cit., p. 77.

35 Harold Squire, A Newfoundland Outport, p. 16.,

36 Ibid., pp. 16-17.

37 D.C. Tibbetts, "The Newfoundland Tilt," Habitat, Vol. 11, No. 5, 1968, pp. 14-17. (Issued as Technical Paper No. 296, Division of Building Research, National Research Council of Canada, Ottawa.) See further description of tilt in William Wilson, op. cit., pp. 216-17.

38 James Kelly, op. cit., p. 43. Also James P. Howley, Geological Exploration Along the Northern and Western Railway (Geological Survey of Newfoundland Report for 1894) (St. John's: Robinson and Company, 1917), p. 10. Howley, the government's geological surveyor, reported, "The entire country around the head of Clode Sound and for many miles back has been overrun by the fiery element several times in succession."

39 Keith Matthews, op. cit., p. 62.

40 Ruth M. Christensen, "The Establishment of S.P.G. Missions in Newfoundland, 1703-1783," Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, June 1951, Vol. 20, No. 2, p. 215.

41 Edward Wix, A Retrospect of the Operations of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in North America (St. John's, 1833), p. 13. Also, J.J. Curling, List of Missions of the Church of England in Newfoundland and Labrador (St. John's: 1877), p. 17. According to Curling the Salvage Mission was established in 1822. St. Stephen's Church was built at least by 1833. It later burned down and a new one was built in 1865.

42 Don Morris, op. cit.
43 Charles Lench, op. cit., p. 179.
44 James Kelly, op. cit.; Edward Feild, A Journal of the Bishop's Visitation of the Missions of the Northern Coast in the Summer of 1846 (London, 1851), Church in the Colonies Series, No. 15 and Journal of a Voyage of Visitation in the "Hawk" Church Ship on the Coast of Labrador, and Round the Whole Island of Newfoundland in the Year 1849 (London, 1850), Church in the Colonies Series, No. 25.
45 James Kelly, op. cit., p. 3.
46 Alan G. Macpherson, op. cit., p. 110. This is contradicted by evidence in Frederick W. Rowe, History of Education in Newfoundland (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1964), p. 40-45.
47 Newfoundland, Journal of Her Majesty's Council of Newfoundland, 1841, appendix.
48 James Kelly, op. cit., p. 44.
49 Herbert Halpert and G.M. Story, Christmas Mumming in Newfoundland (Toronto: Univ. Toronto Press, 1969).
50 Keith Matthews, op. cit., p. 254.
51 Richard Hibbs, "First Roads Built in Newfoundland," The Newfoundland Quarterly, Christmas issue, 1940.
52 Moses Harvey, A Handbook and Tourists' Guide or Newfoundland As It Is In 1894 (St. John's: J.W. Withers, Queen's Printer, 1894). Also, Eric S. Jones, "The Revolution in Roads." In The Book of Newfoundland. Ed. Joseph R. Smallwood (St. John's: Newfoundland Book Publishers Limited, 1967), Vol. 4, p. 336.
53 McAlpine's Maritime and Newfoundland Gazetter (Saint John: The McAlpine Directory Co., 1898), p. 1103.
54 Newfoundland, Journal of House of Assembly of Newfoundland, 1834, pp. 65-66.
55 Newfoundland, Journal of Legislative Council of Island of Newfoundland, 1859, p. 377.
56 Lovell's Province of Newfoundland Directory for 1871 (Montreal: John Lovell, 1871), p. 331.
57 J.B. Jukes, op. cit., p. 86.
58 Alexander Murray and James P. Howley, "Report for 1869." In Geological Survey of Newfoundland Report for 1869 (London: Edward Stanford, 1881), p. 197.

**The Twentieth Century**

1 J.B. Jukes, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 110. Jukes used the spelling "Lonil Hills."
2 Angus J. Campbell, "Architecture in Newfoundland and Labrador." In The Book of Newfoundland. Ed. Joseph R. Smallwood (St. John's: Newfoundland Book Publishers Limited, 1967), Vol. 4, p. 194. Campbell was quoting an edi-torial in the Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, March 1950.
3 David B. Mills, "The Development of Folk Architecture in Trinity Bay, Newfoundland." In The Peopling of Newfoundland. Ed. John J. Mannion (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1977), pp. 77-101.
4 Newfoundland, Department of Colonial Secretary, Census of Newfoundland, 1921.
5 Ruth Kedzie Wood, The Tourist's Maritime Provinces (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1915), p. 372.
6 Newfoundland, Provincial Archives (hereafter cited as NPA), GN 2/5 361, Petitions to the House of Assembly in Legislative Session from the Inhabitants of Bonavista Bay.
7 "A Few Words with Charlie Moss," Stagehead, November 1977, p. 10.
8 Newfoundland, Department of Colonial Secretary, Census of Newfoundland, 1921.
9 For an account of Dr. MacDonald's work see Harold Squire, A Newfoundland Outport.
10 F.L.T. Mitchell, "The Newfoundland Outport Nursing and Industrial Association." In The Book of Newfoundland. Ed. Joseph R. Smallwood (St. John's, 1937), Vol. 2, pp. 87-88. Both Eastport and Salvage are listed as places where "Nonia" nurses were stationed.
11 "An Interview with Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth Bradley, Sr.," Stagehead, April 1976, pp. 14-15.
12 Recorded interview with William E. Penney, Canning's Cove.
13 "An Interview with Mary Jane Heffern," Stagehead, November 1977, p. 6.
14 Taped interview with Harvey Turner, Happy Adventure. Much of the information concerning the Labrador Fishery in the twentieth century was obtained from Mr. Turner who took part in it for several years (Fig. 17).
15 W.A. Black, op. cit., p. 274.

16 The fish was graded according to quality as follows (in descending order): Choice (or Number One) Spanish, Prime (or Number Two) Spanish; Merchantable, Madeira, West India. Choice Spanish was "sound quality codfish, extra thick, light amber colour, even surface, thoroughly clean on both back and face, not showing blood stains, clots, liver, or gut; well split, and not showing excessive salt on the face." The West India, the poorest quality, was "broken, sunburnt, slimy, dun, or oversalted or otherwise defective" and was so named because it was marketed in the West Indies. See N.L. Macpherson, The Dried Codfish Industry (St. John's: Newfoundland Department of Natural Resources, 1935), pp. 11-14.

17 W.A. Black, op. cit., p. 267.

18 Newfoundland, Department of Colonial Secretary, Census of Newfoundland, 1921.

19 "A Few Words with Charlie Moss," Stagehead, November 1977, p. 11.

20 Personal Communication with Wilfred Heffern, Salvage.

21 For first-hand accounts of the seal fishery by two local men (both now living in Sandringham) see "Alf Squire Recalls his Years at the Ice," Stagehead, November 1977, pp. 4-5 and "William Chaytor," Stagehead, April 1978, pp. 6-7.

22 Alexander Bay (formerly Bloody Bay) derived its name (in 1894) from Alexander Cobb who was employed by the Reid Newfoundland Company during the construction of the railway through the area.

23 Robert Feltham, "The History of Glovertown, Newfoundland," April 6, 1973, pp. 15-16, student paper on file, Archives of the Maritime History Group, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

24 Newfoundland, Department of Colonial Secretary, Census of Newfoundland, 1921. They are listed as follows: Rosedale - 2, Cull's Harbour - 2, Troytown -3, Glovertown South - 2, Ragged Head -1, Glovertown - 8 and Saunders' Cove -1.

25 NPA, GN 2/5 120-D, Report of D.M. Macfarlane, Assistant Inspector of Boilers, July 11, 1913; and Report of T.A. Hall (Government Engineer) on Boiler Explosion at Rosedale, September 16, 1913. Also Fred Borden, "Traytown, Bonavista Bay," April 2, 1974, student paper on file, Archives of the Maritime History Group, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

26 Fred Borden, "Attempted Industry at Alexander Bay," December 1973, student paper on file, Archives of the Maritime History Group, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

27 NPA, GN 2/5 357(2), Petition from the Voters of Alexander Bay and Vicinity.

28 Taped interview with Eric Briffett, Glovertown.

29 Ibid.

30 Taped interview with Roland King, Sandy Cove, who worked at sawmill in Minchin's Cove from 1925 to 1942. Mr. King believes one or more of the people buried there were Quintons, who together with families of Elliotts, Browns and Hobbs lived in Minchin's Cove near the turn of the century. He reported that they had a school and church built, but that no building of any type remained standing when the King family began their sawmill in 1925. In a subsequent conversation (not taped) Mr. King noted that Jim and George Saunders (of Dark Cove, Gambo) also had a sawmill in Minchin's Cove before the King's mill. Their equipment was bought by Dick Powell of Happy Adventure who moved it to North Broad Cove and then later to Powell's Cove in Happy Adventure. Will Moss of Eastport had a mill in North Broad Cove (after the Powells were there) which was in operation at the same time as the King's mill in Minchin's Cove.

31 Taped interview with William Lane, Eastport.

32 Information on Turner's mill taken mostly from taped interview with Reginald Bates, Happy Adventure. Also, Newfoundland, Provincial Archives, P7-B-13, Accounts Book - Turner, A. and Bros., Merchants, Happy Adventure, 1936-37. This book records the prices paid by individuals for different commodities and the wages paid by Turner for woods work done by these individuals to offset their bills. Specimen retail prices: flour - $3.70 sack, sugar - 7¢ lb., tea - 55¢ lb., beef - 16¢ lb., pork - 18¢ lb., peas - 6¢ lb., beans - 6¢ lb., molasses - 75¢ gallon, tobacco - 21¢ plug, striped flannelette - 55¢ lb. Rates paid for wood and days worked: barking - $1.10 cord; stump piling - $1.60 cord; cutting

and hauling - $2.50 cord; cut, hauled, and barked - $3.50 cord; loading steamer - 25¢ hour; Bell Island ties (6 inches) - 20¢; Bell Island ties (5 inches) - 15¢; government ties - 16¢.

33 Information on Lane's mill taken mostly from taped interviews with William Lane and Mark Lane, both of Eastport.

34 Information on King's mill taken mostly from taped interview with Roland King, Sandy Cove.

35 Information on Squire's mill taken from taped interview with George Squire, Eastport.

36 Taped interview with Harvey Turner, Happy Adventure.

37 "Ethel King," Stagehead, January 1978, p. 10-11.

38 Evelyn Dyke, daughter of William Lane, on taped interview with William Lane, Eastport.

39 Ibid.

40 Jukes, op. cit., pp. 103-106. Jukes notes, "There is a large pond some fifteen or twenty miles in, which Stroud called Terra Nova Pond, and which he said was twenty miles long. No place struck me as suitable for an exploratory expedition into the interior of Newfoundland as this."

41 H. Hesketh Prichard, Hunting Camps in Wood and Wilderness (London: William Heinemann, 1910), p. 87-88. Also J.G. Millais, Newfoundland and its Untrodden Ways (New York: Arno Press, 1967, reprint) and Richard D. Ware, In the Woods and on the Shore (Boston: L.C. Page and Company, 1908).

42 Richard D. Ware, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

43 Roy Reid, "A Short History of Terra Nova," March 1972, student paper on file, Archives of the Maritime History Group, Memorial University of Newfoundland. Also James R. Thoms, "The Sawmill Pioneers of Newfoundland." In The Book of Newfoundland. Ed. Joseph R. Smallwood (St. John's: Newfoundland Book Publishers Limited, 1967), p. 417, for mention of other attempts at sawmilling in Terra Nova.

44 Newfoundland, Department of Colonial Secretary, Census of Newfoundland, 1901, 1911, 1921.

45 James R. Thoms, op. cit.

46 According to Don Spracklin (taped interview) Weston Spracklin's mill at Bread Cove operated during the time he was sending schooners to the Laborador fishery.

47 Much of the information on Bread Cove is based on Michael Rosen, "Bread Cove Study Area Plan Document," On file, Terra Nova National Park, 1977. (See that study for more detailed account of the area.) Also based on taped interviews with Willis Greening, John Young, Malcolm Kean, William E. Penney and Don Spracklin.

48 William E. Penney (taped interview) listed the following sites where sawmills were located (in the present-day park area of Clode Sound): Lion's Den, Park Harbour, Chambler's Rounds, Long Beach, Grassy Cove, Parish Cove, Long Cove, Bread Cove, Johnson's Cove and Charlottetown. Tape also contains his recollections of who occupied each particular site.

49 Information based on taped interview with Ashwell Reader, Bloomfield.

50 In the early 1920s the island's pitprop operations were the subject of considerable controversy. In 1921 the government had initiated a program of relief to economically depressed areas in the form of contracts for the cutting of wood (mainly pitprop, but also some pulpwood), with a view to it being exported. Contracts were awarded to many individuals on the island, including several in the area under study (among them were Benjamin Stead of Musgravetown, George Reader of Bloomfield, Thomas Turner of Happy Adventure, Daniel Pelley of Port Blandford, Baxter Burry of Glovertown and William Brown of Salvage). However, the "Pitprop Account," as administered by the Department of Agriculture and Mines, became the source of a serious misappropriation of funds. Investigation into that and several other charges against the government was undertaken by a Royal Commission, the Hollis Walker Enquiry. A subsequent report revealed widespread corruption in the government of Sir Richard Squires. See S.J.R. Noel, Politics in Newfoundland (Toronto: Univ. Toronto Press, 1971), pp. 158-70. The Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador, St. John's, has a copy of the entire proceedings of the Enquiry and an account book for the "Pitprop Account" of 1922.

51 For more details of the Pelley pitprop enterprise see Michael Rosen, op. cit.

52 Information on Spracklin's enterprise based on taped interview with Don Spracklin, Charlottetown.

53 Newfoundlanders have a tradition of writing verse to record local events. Of interest is the folksong "The Loss of the Ellen Munn," taken from Gerald S. Doyle, Old-Time Songs and Poetry of Newfoundland, 2nd ed., (St. John's: 1940), music included. (No additional information on either the event itself or the writing of the song was uncovered.

54 These have for the most part been destroyed or have decayed. This is unfortunate in some cases because some of these structures (such as the large waterwheel in Bread Cove) could have been preserved as reminders of a way of life not to be seen again.

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